ACPL ITEM
DISCARDED

.2
e
,pt.2
3320
BASEMENT STORAGE

REFERENCE

ACPL ITEM
DISCARDED

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2022 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation

https://archive.org/details/ecclesiasticalme0002john

WORKS
V. II

ECCLESIASTICAL MEMORIALS,

RELATING CHIEFLY TO

RELIGION,

AND

THE REFORMATION OF IT,

AND THE EMERGENCIES

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

UNDER

KING HENRY VIII. KING EDWARD VI.

AND

QUEEN MARY I.

WITH

LARGE APPENDIXES, CONTAINING ORIGINAL PAPERS, RECORDS, &c.

One generation shall praise thy works unto another, and declare thy power.—The memorial of thine abundant kindness shall be shewed; and men shall sing of thy righteousness.

Psalm cxlv. 4, 7.

BY JOHN STRYPE, M. A.

VOL. II. PART II.

v. 2, pt. 2

OXFORD,

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.

MDCCCXXII.

1743320

HISTORICAL MEMORIALS,

CHIEFLY ECCLESIASTICAL,

AND SUCH AS CONCERN

RELIGION,

AND

THE REFORMATION OF IT,

AND THE PROGRESS MADE THEREIN,

UNDER THE REIGN AND INFLUENCE

OF

KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

CONTAINING ALSO

MANY NEW DISCOVERIES OF THE LIFE, ACTS, AND GOVERNMENT OF THAT PRINCE.

CK.

THE

CONTENTS OF THE CHAPTERS.

BOOK II.

CHAP. XIV.

Disturbance in Buckinghamshire. Bishop Hoper visits. The bishoprics of Worcester and Gloucester united. The Duke of Somerset's daughters. The Duchess, &c. The King goes a progress. The gests thereof. The Duke of Northumberland goes into the north. Lord Guilford Dudley. The Bishop of Bath's exchanges. Dr. Walter Haddon, &c. The King's sales of Church lands. Merchants of Bristol, &c. P. 1.

CHAP. XV.

A commission for inquiry into heresies. The new service. The Bishop of Durham's troubles: deprived. A synod. Articles of Religion framed: and a Catechism, confirmed. Articles for uniformity. Bernard Gilpius's sermon at court. P. 19.

CHAP. XVI.

New sergeants. Lady Mary visits the King. The King's sales. A Lasco's judgment of the ceremonies. Divers books printed. Leland the antiquarian dies. P. 29.

CHAP. XVII.

Commissioners from France. Corruptions at Court. Paget, Beaumont, and the Earl of Arundel, their submissions. The university of Rostock's letter to the King. The King's diligence, and good example. Free schools by him founded. P. 42.

CHAP. XVIII.

Popery in Corpus Christi college, Oxon. Dr. Heins dies. Immanuel Tremelius preferred. Bishop Ponet's book. Knox

at Newcastle. Lady Anne of Cleves. Day, late bishop, his judgment about altars. Commissions. Sir William Bowyer. Ordinations of ministers. Places and offices bestowed. P. 52.

CHAP. XIX.

A Parliament. The bishopric of Durham dissolved. A general pardon. Certain excepted. The King removes to Greenwich. Knox's last sermon at Court. Summoned before the Council. Earls of Pembroke and Westmorland. Sir Andrew Dudley. Sir John Williams. Melancthon. North-east passage. Archbishop Holgate. P. 64.

CHAP. XX.

A design to enter into league with the Protestant princes. The present condition of the Emperor. The embassy to him from England. Letters from the English ambassadors, concerning the state of the Low Countries. P. 78.

CHAP. XXI.

The King's ambassadors in France, and to King Ferdinand, and to the Emperor. Their access to his presence. Instructions sent them for their proceedings. P. 93.

CHAP. XXII.

Anno 1553. Order for subscription to the Articles of Religion; and for the teaching and learning of the Catechism set forth by the King's authority. Irish matters. The Duke of Northumberland. Lady Mary's letter to the King. Divers great matches. The King's gift to London, &c. The King's death. His last will. His funerals, &c. His character. P. 104.

CHAP. XXIII.

A view of the manners of all sorts of men in these times: nobility: gentry: yeomanry: judges: the poor: the clergy. P. 131.

CHAP. XXIV.

Observations concerning patrons; the universities; the city and court. Taxes in this reign. P. 146.

CHAP. XXV.

Creations of noblemen. The King's counsellors. Courtiers and great officers. P. 157.

CHAP. XXVI.

A catalogue of the Bishops in this King's reign; with remarks upon them. P. 165.

CHAP. XXVII.

A catalogue of divers letters, orders of Council, commissions, &c. sent and given out in this reign. P. 174.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Animadversions upon the History of the Life and Reign of King Edward VI. written by Sir John Hayward. P. 179.

CHAP. XXIX.

Commissions and proclamations issued out from the King upon divers occasions, annis 1550, 1551, 1552, and 1553. P. 198.

CHAP. XXX.

Divers acts of the King's grace and favour, shewed to his courtiers and others. P. 214.

CHAP. XXXI.

A collection of various letters, warrants, and licences from the King, both to foreigners and his subjects. P. 239.

CHAP. XXXII.

Collations, presentations, grants, indulgences, and permissions to churchmen, and men of the universities. P. 257.

CHAP. XXXIII.

A catalogue of King Edward's free grammar schools, founded by him. More private matters concerning the King's household. The conclusion. P. 278.

MEMORIALS

OF MATTERS WORTHY REMARK

ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL

IN THE REIGN OF

KING EDWARD VI.

BOOK II.

CHAP. XIV.

Disturbance in Buckinghamshire. Bishop Hoper visits. The bishoprics of Worcester and Gloucester united. The Duke of Somerset's daughters. The Duchess, &c. The King goes a progress. The gests. The Duke of Northumberland goes into the north. Lord Guildford Dudley, his son. The Bishop of Bath's exchanges. Dr. Walter Haddon, &c. The King's sales. The merchants of Bristow, &c.

LET us now take another review of this year, and gather up divers other more private matters that happened within the compass of it. Anno 1552.

Landlords had now so wracked their rents, and raised them so high from the old wont, that the farmers grew very discontented; or rather continued so, partly for that reason, and partly for the continuance of the dearth of provisions, kept up still by some of the richer sort: which occasioned another insurrection, about the beginning of this year, in Buckinghamshire. The pretence whereof was, to have lands upon easier rents, and victuals better cheap. The chief man that headed this tumult was a tanner of Deans- Insurrection in Bucks.

BOOK II.

field in that county, called Isaac Herne; who was after taken and indicted, but pardoned. His pardon bore date April 29.

Anno 1552.

Warr. Book. 354

Bp. Hoper visits Worcester.

The reverend father John Hoper, holding the see of Worcester *in commendam* with Gloucester, (Worcester being void by the late deprivation of Heth,) as he had visited Gloucester, anno 1551, bringing certain articles of religion with him, to be by that clergy subscribed; so now, 1552, he went in visitation to the diocese of Worcester with the same articles. But in the church of Worcester were two canons, named Johnson and Jolliff, who refused to subscribe, and protesting against them, charged the said articles not to be catholic, nor agreeable to the ancient doctrine: with whom the bishop entered into a dispute, and had much trouble. And at length sent up a full account thereof to the Council.

Two canons there refuse subscription to his articles.

But however Popish these men were, they made a shift with their consciences to continue in their places throughout this reign, for ought I find to the contrary; and under Queen Mary had more preferments heaped upon them. Johnson got a prebend in the church of York, and a rectory in the same county. Jolliff became Dean of Bristow. Johnson wrote against Hoper's articles, but kept his writing privately by him during King Edward's reign; till Jolliff carried the manuscript with him beyond sea to Lovain, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, and printed it in Antwerp, 1564, with additions of his own, under this title, *Responsio sub Protestatione facta*, &c. i. e. *An Answer made under Protestation to those Articles of John Hoper, bearing the name of Bishop of Worcester, in which he disagreed from the Catholic faith. Together with some confutation of the said Hoper; and the replies of the right reverend father in Christ, Stephen Gardyner, bishop of Winchester, at that time detained in prison for the confession of the faith.* Dedicating the said book to the King of Spain.

Visits Gloucester the second time.

After the Bishop had done his visitation in the diocese of Gloucester, hearing his articles were not subscribed to by divers of his clergy, and many abuses still remained there,

he hastily went over that diocese again, and administered certain interrogatories, both for the clergy and the laity: which were these that follow: CHAP. XIV. Anno 1552.

Interrogatories and examinations against the clergy.

I. What is the cause of his non-residency, and whether his curate be sufficient? Hooper's interrogatories. E Foxii MS.

II. Whether the communion be used in such place, and after such sort, as most varieth from, and is most distant from the Popish mass?

III. Whether they preach any doctrine to avouch purgatory, pardons, auricular confession, praying to saints, the Bishop of Rome, holy water, holy bread, palms, ashes, beads?

IV. Whether they allure the people to the love of any other person or persons within this realm, or without, to this intent, that the people should favour them?

V. *Item*, Whether they say one part of their service softly, and the other aloud, as they were wont to say the *Pater-noster* with a small voice, and the psalms with a loud voice?

VI. *Item*, Whether they sit at one part of the service, and kneel at another, and stand at another, as they were wont?

VII. *Item*, Whether they use any month's minds and anniversaries?

VIII. *Item*, Whether they use any corporas cloth in the communion?

IX. *Item*. Whether they ring or knoll the bells in the 355
time of the communion, or between mattins and the communion?

X. *Item*, Whether they suffer the people to sit at the epistle, and stand at the gospel?

XI. *Item*, Whether at the visitation of the sick they bear the sacrament with covering their heads with the surplice, or at their breast, or with any light: or, when they come into the house, they suffer the people to kneel and honour it?

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

XII. *Item*, Whether any of them speak unreverently of God the Father, the Son, or the Holy Ghost, or mock and scorn at *the word, laws, and promises of God?*

XIII. *Item*, How many priests within the deanery have subscribed unto the articles that I put forth unto them?

Against the laity.

XIV. Whether the midwives at the labour or birth of any child, do use any prayers or invocations to any saints, (saving to God only in Christ,) for the deliverance of the woman: and whether they do use any salt, herbs, water, wax, cloths, gyndils, relics?

XV. *Item*, Whether any midwife refuse to come to any woman labouring of child, for religion sake, or because she is a wife to a minister of the Church, that hath married, or do marry, both by God's laws and the King's?

XVI. *Item*, How many priests within this deanery have subscribed to my articles?

Hoper makes a deed of gift of his bishopric to the King.

Hoper having been bishop of Gloucester about fourteen months, made a deed of gift, May 12, to the King, of the said bishopric, *viz.* of all the lands and annuities which by means of that bishopric he enjoyed: and also a *Dedimus potestatem* annexed to the same, directed to John Tayler, otherwise called Baker, and to John Coventre, to receive the confirmation of the said deed, to be made by the Dean and Chapter there, to the said King's Majesty. This was in order to the dissolving this bishopric, and the founding a new bishopric, by the uniting of this of Gloucester and that of Worcester into one.

Translated to Worcester.

In April he was translated to the bishopric of Worcester, with all the lordships, manors, &c. during his life: and a patent was granted to John Hoper, bishop of Gloucester, to be bishop of Worcester, and for the uniting the bishopric of Gloucester with that of Worcester. So that the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Gloucester shall now cease, and be accounted parcel of the bishopric of Worcester, *habend. sibi durante vita, quamdiu se bene gesserit*, (for so it is set down in the manuscript,) anno 6 Edw. VI. without any

other date. Soon after, another patent was granted him for the discharge of his first-fruits. CHAP. XIV.

In September he received a letter for the surrender of the bishopric of Worcester, to the end there be a new collation of the same. Anno 1552. Surrenders Worcester.

I find another patent and grant made by the King to this Bishop, dated December 8, an. 6 reg. Edw. VI. *viz.* uniting the bishoprics of Gloucester and Worcester into one; and to be one from henceforth, and one diocese, and so to be reputed and taken. Union of Gloucester and Worcester.

And yet another granted him soon after, to be Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester for life. By another patent the King gave him, and his successors for ever, to the maintenance of the same bishopric, the manors of Alchurch, Kempsey, Hallow, Grimley, Blockley, and Aston, in the county of Worcester; and the hundreds of Heswoldslow and Pastlow, in the said county; and the manor of Cleve, in the county of Gloucester: also the manors of Maysmore, Brokthorp, Harscomb, Preston, Longford, Droyscort, and Brockworth, in the county of Gloucester: and the manors of Ruge and Farleigh in the said county: and the manors of Hopemeleshal, Dewchurch, and Kilpeck, in the county of Hereford, lately belonging to the monastery of St. Peter's in Gloucester: and the scite of the manor called *the Vineyard*, with the park, and the King's part of the manor of Lassington, and the half of the wood called Woolridg, and Le Perch; with the parsonages and churches of Hartpurie, Maiscombre, and Upton, in the city of Gloucester; and of Canyme, Northlach, Kenysford, Welford, Southserney, and Standish, in the county of Gloucester; and of Dewchurch, Kilpeck, Glasebury, Devenock, Cowern, and Envias Harrold, in the county of Hereford: and the parsonage and church of Newport, in the county of Wenlock, in Wales; and the chapel of Piperton in Hereford: and all the tenths in the parishes of Standish, Culdrick, Hardwick, Overoxlinch, Ranwich, Parva Harveld, Netheroxlinch, Sall, Putley, Farley, and Auney St. Crucis, in the county of Gloucester; and in Devenock, Wentworth, and Talthworth, 356 Hoper made bishop of Worcester and Glocester. The endowment of this new see.

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

in Hereford: and the portion or annual rent of 53*s.* 4*d.* to be taken from the rectory of Resimsford, and yearly paid by the Vicar of the same church for the time being; and 26*s.* of the rectory of Teynter; and 10*s.* of the rectory of Rencomb; and 26*s.* of the rectory of Nevinsfeld; and 26*s.* of the church of Newport, in the said county of Wenlock: and the tenths in Aldesworth, Linton, and Skipton Solas, in the county of Gloucester; with all the advowsons belonging to the aforesaid manors; with the advowsons and collations of the vicarages of Hartpurie, Maysmore, and Upton S. Leonards, in the county of the city of Gloucester; and of Camyer, Norlech, Kemesmisford, Welford, Southserney, and Standish, in the county of Gloucester; and of Dewchurch, Kilpeck, Glasebury, Devenock, Cowerne, and Envias Harrowld; and the presentations of chaplains or stipendiaries of those chapels of Maysmore, Camyas, Stinchecomb, and Piperton, in the counties of Gloucester and Hereford; which came to the King's hands by the concession of the said John Hoper: so fully and entirely granted as they were before put into the King's hands, by reason or pretence of gift, or concession, or surrender of the said Hoper: which are extended to the clear annual value of 1000 marks, above and beyond the tenths and yearly rents for the time to come reserved by these presents. To have to him and his successors for ever; to be held in pure and perpetual alms:

His tenths.

And rendering thence yearly to the King at the Court of First-fruits and Tenths, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* at the feast of our Lord's Nativity every year; to be paid in the name of the whole tenths, and of the tenth part, as well of the premises granted to the Bishop and his successors, and of the bishopric of Wigorn and Gloucester, and of all the manors, rectories, &c. and for full recompence of all tenths. And when the separate and annual tenths of the foresaid bishoprics in the
357 Court of First-fruits and Tenths, heretofore yearly paid *inter se*, did extend to the sum of 136*l.* 10*s.* 5½*d.* Yet the King granted by these presents the said Bishop and his successors to be acquitted and disburdened of all sums of money

and burdens, besides the said annual tenths of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* And this said Bishop to be discharged of the first-fruits for this one time. And the King's Majesty doth covenant to discharge him, and his successors, yearly, of 133*l.* 6*s.* 8½*d.* yearly to be paid to John Bell, clerk, late bishop of Worcester, out of the foresaid manors belonging to the same bishopric; and of 5*l.* yearly to be paid for the fee of the chief steward of the foresaid manors; and of 42*s.* paid for the moiety of the fee for keeping the Bishop's palace of Worcester; and to discharge him of other, &c. But of, &c. and 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly, to be paid to John Tayler, alias Baker, gent. for keeping the register of the Bishop of Gloucester.

CHAP. XIV.

Anno 1552.

He is pardoned his first-fruits.

In June a warrant went to the officers of the Court of First-fruits, to discharge the said Hoper, bishop of Worcester, of all the first-fruits. Nay, and so much was he favoured, that a letter was sent to the Lord Chancellor, to take order, that no person should demand a fee of him. This letter was wrote December 1552.

Sergeants at law.

In the month of May, there was a call of these sergeants at law, Robert Brook, recorder of London, James Dier, John Caril, Thomas Gawdy, Richard Catlyn, Rafe Rookesby, William Stamford, and William Dallyson, esquires. And a warrant was issued to the Lord Chancellor, to make out writs to them, that his Majesty having nominated them to be sergeants at the law, therefore they should prepare themselves for the execution of the same, upon pain of the forfeiture of 1000*l.* apiece.

The daughters of the Duke of Somerset.

Council-Book.

Warr. Book.

The good Duke of Somerset having been beheaded in January last, the King and Council took care of his four younger daughters, as he had six, *viz.* Anne, Margaret, Jane, Mary, Katharin, and Elizabeth; all bred up to learning. For I find, by order of the King, they were committed, May 2, 1552, to the Lady Cromwel, who was to have 50*l.* per ann. for each of them: which salary was, November 1, increased to 100 marks a year apiece. One of his daughters, *viz.* the Lady Elizabeth, was before in the keeping of the

BOOK II. Anno 1552.

Lady Smith, (the wife, I suppose, of Sir Thomas Smith, who had belonged to the Duke; or perhaps rather the wife of Sir Clement Smith, who was her aunt.) And in February there was a warrant to the Exchequer, to pay to that lady an annuity of 100 marks towards the finding the Lady Elizabeth, one of the late Duke of Somerset's daughters, during the said Elizabeth's abode with her. One of these ladies, *viz.* Jane, the third daughter, the Duke her father secretly laboured to match with the King, and employed the Lord Strange much about his person, to recommend her to him, and to take his opportunity to move the King that way; as that Lord confessed in the said Duke's last troubles. But she died unmarried, as also did two of her sisters, Margaret and Katharin. Those that were married were, Anne the eldest, who was married to John Dudley earl of Warwick, and eldest son to the Duke of Northumberland, and afterwards to Sir Edward Umpton, knight of the Bath. Elizabeth married Sir Richard Knightly of Fausly, she being his se-
358 cond wife. Mary was married twice, first to Sir Richard Rogers of Brianslo in the county of Dorset, knt. and after to Sir Henry Peyton, knt. Yet I find that Margaret aforesaid was desired in marriage by the Lord Strange, in the year 1551: for a letter was directed from the King and Council, to the Earl of Derby, his father, dated in July, that the King's Majesty was well pleased, that his son should solemnize marriage with his kinswoman the Lady Margaret, daughter to the Duke of Somerset. But perhaps the Duke's disgrace and misfortunes, that soon after befell him, was the occasion that that match took not effect.

The Duchess.

As for the Duchess, she remained in the Tower, (as she must do all this reign.) In the beginning of the year 1553, 100*l.* was assigned her out of the profits of the late Duke's lands, by a letter of order to the Chancellor of the Augmentations, to be paid to the Lieutenant of the Tower for her use. And it being the good time of Easter, leave was given to Bishop Hoper, formerly the Duke's chaplain, to visit her.

CHAP. XIV.

Anno 1552.

Eaton college visited.

May 6, the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of London, Sir John Cheke, Dr. May, Dr. Wendy, were appointed visitors of Eaton college. May 14, Mr. Riley, vice-provost, appeared. Hurland, the usher, and Avise, a fellow, were warned to appear: and Fawding, one of the fellows, was committed to the Fleet for lewd words.

Covent Garden.

June 10, Covent Garden and Long Acre, (which have improved since to such a vast estate,) were given to the Earl of Bedford.

The King's last progress.

This summer, in the same month of June, King Edward began his last progress. It had been resolved, the extent of the progress should be to Pool in Dorsetshire, and to come back by Salisbury homeward to Hampton Court: fifty pound of gold was coined of the new standard, to carry about in this progress; of which these were the gests: June 27, he removed to Hampton Court; thence to Oatlands, another of the King's houses, where he stayed about eight days; thence to Guildford in Surrey; thence to Petworth in Sussex; thence to Condrey, Sir Anthony Brown's house, where the King was most nobly banqueted; thence to Halvenaker, a pretty house beside Chichester; thence to Warblington, a fair house of Sir Richard Cotton's; thence to Waltham, a fair great old house, formerly belonging to the Bishop of Winchester, at that present the Lord Treasurer's. In all these places the King had good hunting and good cheer. Thence to Portsmouth; where the King well viewed the town and the haven, but chiefly the bulwarks: of which he gave this account in a letter to Fitz-Patric, "that the bulwarks were chargeable, massy, well "rampired, but ill fashioned, ill flanked, and set in unmeet "places: that for the town, it was weak in comparison of "what it ought to be; that it was too great, there being "within the walls large closes, and much vacant room: that "the haven was notably great, and standing by nature easy "to be fortified. For the more strength thereof, he devised "two strong castles on either side of the haven, at the "mouth thereof." From Portsmouth he went to Tichfield, the Earl of Southampton's house: thence to Southampton.

His observations of Portsmouth.

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

The citizens had put themselves to much cost against his coming, by painting, repairing, and rampiring of their walls. Thence to Beaulieu, or Bewly, a little village in the middle of the New Forest: thence to Christ's-church, a little town in the same Forest; where the King was the 22d of August: thence
359 to Woodlands; thence to Salisbury; thence to Wilton; thence to Wotisfunt, the Lord Sands's house; thence to Winchester; thence to Basing, the Lord Treasurer's house; thence to Donnington castle, near the town of Newbury; thence to Reding; and so to Windsor, whither he came Septemb. 15; and thence, Septemb. 28, to Hampton Court again. While he was at Christ's-church, he wrote an ingenious account of his progress so far, to his favourite Barnaby Fitz-Patric, then in France: which is preserved in Fuller's History.

Book vii. p. 412.

Kings at arms wait upon the King.

The King went this his progress in great state, beseeming a monarch: and he took along with him, as part of his retinue, four kings at arms, *viz.* Garter, Clarencieux, Norroy, and Ulster, the only king of arms for all Ireland, whom the King had made the last February; and three heralds, *viz.* Somerset, Rouge Dragon, and Blewmantel; and appointed them handsome allowances for their diet: the chief king had 20*s.* a day, and the rest 6*s.* 8*d.* The noblemen and officers that attended the King had each a band of men to go with them, which amounted to the number of four thousand: but the country being very poor, both in hay and grass and other provisions, they were dismissed, and only one hundred and fifty culled out to go with the King.

Preparation for the progress.

Among other preparations for this progress, a letter was sent, July 23, to Sir Philip Hoby, surveyor of the ordnance, to be resident within the Tower, joining with the Lieutenant of the same, to take good order for the keeping thereof, and of the city of London, in the time of progress. He fell sick in the Tower soon after his coming there, so that in August the King licensed him to repair into the country. For the King's own furniture and apparel, Sir Andrew Dudley, who was keeper of the wardrobe in Westminster, was ordered to deliver to Azanius, the King's armourer at Green-

CHAP. XIV.

Anno 1552.

wich, a yard of crimson velvet and a yard of satin, to trim an headpiece for his Majesty: for it seems the King did, in this noble progress, sometimes ride in armour. And a warrant was sent to Humfrey Orme, keeper of the standing wardrobe of the Tower of London, to deliver to Thomas Chappel, the King's bedmaker, one bed, and a bolster of fustian, filled with down; which, I suppose, was the King's travelling bed. The said bedmaker received of Sir Andrew Dudley, for the appareling of the new bed, seventeen yards and an half of for the ceiler, tester, and double valance; six yards and an half of taffeta to line the ceiler; eleven yards and half of red Bruges satin to line the tester; four yards of Turky silk incarnate; twenty yards of crimson damask for curtains; twenty-two yards and three quarters of crimson capha, for a damask to the same bed; seventeen yards and an half of crimson damask for a rich counterpoint; ten yards and an half of changeable sarcenet to line the same; and two papers, with part of another paper, of passemain lace of gold; containing together sixty-seven yards, to garnish the curtains and ceilers of the same bed.

The Duke of Northumberland goes down to the marches.

While the King was in his progress, the Duke of Northumberland, general warden of all the marches towards Scotland, being gone down thither, with the Earls of Huntingdon and Pembroke, to take a view there, which was by order of Council in May; having so done, accordingly wrote to the King the state of those places: and advised, that some new fortifications should be made in Berwick; that some unnecessary expences there should be retrenched; that there might be a general deputy warden, and three other wardens of the three marches; recommending one for that 360 deputy. He mentioned also to the King, certain outlaws, that is, some in the borders that had robbed and spoiled; how these were willing to return to their obedience upon a pardon. To this letter of the Duke's the King in all points agreed; and sent an answer, in July, signifying, "that "the King thought his opinion good, and very necessary, "concerning a new piece to be made in Barwick, and the "charges thereby diminished. And therefore his pleasure

The King's orders to the Duke there. Warr. Book.

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

"was, that he, the Duke, should give order and direction "there for the new plat and device, and to cause such parts "of the works to be first advanced as shall most need, one "before the other. And also, his Majesty did well allow "his good opinion, to have a deputy general over all the "three marches, and deputy wardens there: where his "Majesty thought none more meet than the Lord Wharton; of whom the said Duke had thereto a good opinion. "And finally, that the King was contented that certain "persons outlawed, and of their voluntary wills returned, "should have his mercy shewed them." Here the Duke saw 10,000*l.* disbursed, which was sent down before him.

Reports upon the Duke's not going with the King.

There was notice taken by the people, that the Duke of Northumberland went not with the King in his progress: which made some surmise, and others talk abroad, according as they would have it, that the Duke was in disfavour at court, and was commanded to be absent. This, when it came afterward to the Duke's ears, was not to be put up by him: and the complaint was brought before the Council; and the reporters, some of them, were found and punished. For so we meet with this order of Council in September.

Some committed for reporting it.

"Sept. 25, one John Kyrton was committed to the Fleet, "for reporting that the Duke of Northumberland should "be commanded to be absent from the court, with other "slanderous reports. And one John Burrough was committed to the Tower for the like matter."

A match between the Lord Guildford Dudley and the Earl of Cumberland's daughter endeavoured.

While the King was in his progress, he endeavoured to gratify this Duke, by forwarding a match between the Lord Guildford, his son, and a daughter of the Earl of Cumberland. For this marriage had been earnestly laboured to be brought to pass; and the more, for that there were great impediments pretended. Whether the Earl had no inclinations thereto, and to conceal the same (for it was not safe to deny Northumberland any thing) gave out these impediments: perhaps some precontract; or, more probably, because she came of a family related to the royal blood. For this purpose, there was a letter writ by the King, in July, to the Earl of Cumberland, "desiring him to grow to some

Warr. Book.

"good end forthwith, in the matter of marriage between "the Lord Guildford Dudley and his daughter; with li- "cence to the said Earl, and all others that shall travail "therein, to do their best, for conducement of it to effect; "any law, statute, or other thing to the contrary notwith- "standing." And that the Duke was the impulsive cause of the King's writing this earnest letter in his son's behalf, may appear by a letter which he forthwith sent to the said Duke, signifying as well his Majesty's writing and speaking to the said Earl heretofore, for this matter of marriage, as his writing again at this present, for the permitting thereof, with licence thereof to the said Duke, his son, or any for them, to travail therein, any law, statute, or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding. But though this, whatever the cause was, succeeded not, (and perhaps the forwarding 361 this match might be one of the ends of his going down into the north,) yet the next year the ambitious Duke had his desire fully, and joined this his son to the Lady Jane, of the blood royal, (though it proved his own and their destructions,) and his elder son, Sir Andrew, to the said Earl of Cumberland's daughter, as we shall see in due place.

CHAP. XIV. — Anno 1552.

The King, this July, made an exchange (for the benefit of some of his craving courtiers) with the Bishop of Bath and Wells. The King to have the chief mansion of the deanery of Wells, with the lands within the precinct thereof, and the manor of Westoker, and the patronage of the parsonage thereof, and the borough of Wellington and Stogursey, in the county of Somerset, and the park of Wedmore, and an annuity coming out of the manor of Glastonbury: and the Bishop to have the chief mansion belonging to the Bishop of Bath's see, commonly called *the Bishop of Bath and Wells' palace*, and all within the precinct of the same; and the house in Wells appointed for the safe custody of clerks convict, and the manors in Wells and Westborough, and the borough of Wells, and the hundred of Wells, and all the appurtenances; which lately the said Bishop had made over to the Duke of Somerset, and now were forfeited to the crown, and so reverted again upon

An exchange with the Bishop of Bath.

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

this exchange: but he was to pay yearly to the King for the manor of Wells 10*l.* For this there was an indenture between the King and the said Bishop, *viz.* that the Bishop had bargained and sold to his Highness, his heirs, and executors, the chief mansion, &c. And then the King made a gift to the said Bishop, in consideration of the said bargain and sale, and to his successors, of the chief house of the see, &c. to be holden in pure alms.

Dr. Haddon recommended for president of Magdalen, Oxon.

About this time the King and Council had provided two new masters for two colleges; the one in Cambridge, the other in Oxford. Dr. Walter Haddon, a very learned and honest man, doctor of the civil law, that had lately been removed from King's college to be master of Trinity hall in Cambridge, (of whom the King had made great use in his proceedings, and in commissions for religion,) was intended to be promoted to the presidentship of Magdalen college in Oxford; Dr. Oglethorp, the present president, having been dealt withal to resign. So, July 20, Dr. Mowse was recommended to be master of Trinity hall in Cambridge: and, August 14, Dr. Haddon was appointed to be elected master of Magdalen college, Oxon, at Michaelmas next, when Oglethorp promised to resign. But it happened, that neither Oglethorp was after willing to resign, nor the fellows to elect Dr. Haddon; which caused the King, after one letter written to that college in behalf of Haddon without success, to send them a second angry one. But at last he was placed there.

Sir Andrew Dudley preferred.

Sir Andrew Dudley, brother to the Duke, having been captain of Guisnes, an high and honourable post esteemed in those times, and got into debt by the service there, was now, in October, sent for home, to prevent the inconveniences of a feud between him and the Lord Willoughby, captain of Calais: whereby he became nearer about the King's person, and was made one of the four principal gentlemen of the King's privy chamber; he was also keeper of the King's wardrobe in Westminster. He it was, that in the
362 beginning of the King's reign, being in the Pauncey, one of the King's ships, met at sea with the Lion, a principal ship

of Scotland, and giving her a broadside, did so maul her, that he took her.

CHAP. XIV.

Anno 1552.

Ordinances for the Tower.

The King took care of the Tower; and now, in October, established articles and ordinances for Sir John Gage, constable thereof, and Sir Edward Warner, newly made lieutenant, and for the yeomen of the guard, with others, appointed to give attendance in the said Tower of London, for the sure keeping of the same, to be observed and kept, upon pains therein limited. Sir Anthony Darcy was lieutenant hitherto; but in the month of October, the said Sir Anthony received a letter, to deliver by indenture to Sir Edward Warner the charge of the Tower, with the prisoners, and all other things thereunto belonging.

Proclamation for tillage.

And for the relief of the country, and for the making corn more cheap and plenty, a proclamation came forth in November, willing and charging all justices of the peace, diligently to have respect to the due execution of a statute made the last session of Parliament for tillage, to be used as it was in any one year since the first year of the reign of King Henry VIII.

Commission for taking away goods from churches.

It was the King's pressing need, I suppose, that occasioned somewhat a severe commission to be issued forth this year, not only to take away out of churches all garments and other utensils used formerly in superstitious worship, but to take, for the King's use, all goods belonging to the churches that could be spared: and then, to be sure, little enough would be left. Now in November, a letter was directed to " to take all certificates and returns of the " late commission, directed to divers countries, for the said " survey of church goods, and to devise the best means for " the bringing and converting to the King's use such goods " as could be spared in the churches." Among other things that came into the King's possession by virtue of this commission, was good store of linen, good and bad, as surplices, altar-cloths, towels, napkins, &c. used for the celebration of mass. These the Bishop of London, as it seems, as much as was found in the churches of London, or of his diocese, begged for the poor children of Christ's-church: and accordingly a

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

letter came from the King and Council to the Bishop of London, to deliver to the Governor of the hospital of Christ's-church in London, such linen vestures and other linen cloth not employed for the ministry in the said churches, as of the King's gift, for the poor orphans, and other poor people.

The King sells away rectories. Book of Sales.

The King was now selling away apace the rectories and advowsons of such churches as came into his hands by act of Parliament, either from the monasteries, chantries, and free chapels, or by exchanges. I will here give an account of a few of these purchases.

To Reve and Cotton.

Thomas Reve and George Cotton purchased the parsonage of East Pury, alias Potterspury, with the appurtenances, in the county of Nottingham, with divers other lands, to the yearly value of 85*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* for the sum of 1421*l.* 8*s.* 5½*d.* paid to the treasury.

To Whiting and Freeman.

A patent was granted to John Whiting and Thomas Freeman, of the county of Leicester, gentlemen, of the parish and church of Wissenden, in the county of Rutland, lately belonging to the priory of Sempringham, in the county of Lincoln; and the parsonage of Moulton, and the
363 advowson and right of the vicarage of the parish church of Moulton; and the parsonage of Winswick, and the advowson and right of patronage of the vicarage of the parish church there, in the county of Huntingdon, lately belonging to the priory of Huntingdon, &c. *Et illis est concessum rectorias prædictas ad proprios usus.* Dated Nov. 18, 1552. For which they paid 1224*l.* 13*s.* 10½*d.*

To Bradshaw.

A patent granted, and stands in the book next to that mentioned before, to John Bradshaw the elder, of the parsonage and church of Prestend, with the right of the patronage of the vicarage of the same, in the county of Hereford, late parcel of the monastery of Wigmore, in the same county, with all corn and hay in the parish of Prestend. *Et illis est concessum convertere*, &c.

To Margaret Brown.

Another purchase of the great tithes in the town and fields of Wyke, and in Pershore in Worcestershire, by one Margaret Brown, for the sum of 266*l.* 4*s.*

CHAP. XIV.

Anno 1552.

To Sir Rowland Hill.

A patent was granted to Sir Rowland Hill, knt. [and alderman of London,] for the sum of 408*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* of the parsonage and church of Sainton upon Hyne Heath, in the county of Salop; and the advowson, donation, and free disposition, and right of patronage of the vicarage of the church, and one rectory in the county of Chester; and the rectory of Sherf, with the appurtenances, in the counties of Salop and Stafford: to have to him and his heirs, of the yearly value of 17*l.* 17*s.* 9½*d.* *Et quod convertere possit prædictas rectorias ad proprios usus.*

And to Thomas Cecyl.

To which I will add another purchase, (though it happened two or three months after,) made by Thomas Cecyl, son or relation to Sir William Cecyl, secretary, and John Bell, for the sum of 2055*l.* 19*s.* 2¼*d.* of the parsonage of Canfield, with the advowson of the same, and divers other advowsons and chantry lands, and lands given to the maintenance of priests, to sing soul masses, and to the maintenance of obits, &c. in divers shires; which were extended to the clear yearly value of 91*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.* to them and their heirs, to be held in soccage, and part *in capite.* Dated Feb. 9.

Commissions for sale of the King's lands.

These sales were made for raising money for satisfying the King's debts: and as a commission came out lately to certain persons for the sale of 1000*l.* lands, so a warrant in November came to the Lord Chancellor, signifying to him, that it was his Majesty's pleasure, that immediately upon the determination of the said commission, he should make out three other like commissions, one after another, under the great seal, putting into every of them 1000*l.* [lands per ann.] to be sold by the said commissioners in like manner as the other. These commissioners were, the Bishop of Norwich, Sir John Gates, Sir Philip Holy, &c.

The merchants of Bristow made a corporation. Warr. Book.

The King now took care of the merchants of Bristow, and allowed one Edward Prince, Thomas Hicks, and Robert Butler, merchant adventurers of that city, to choose a master of that mystery, and two wardens, and made it a corporation for ever: which makes it seem as though there were no corporation of merchants before in that city, but all

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

free traders: unless perhaps this corporation was established for the traders into some particular parts of the world, which are not mentioned in the manuscript.

364 Ambassadors sent to the Emperor and French King.

Two embassies were now, Decemb. 2, preparing to be despatched. Sir Andrew Dudley was going to the Emperor: and a letter was sent to Morison, ambassador in that court, wherein the affairs of the ambassade of the said Sir Andrew was commended to him. And Sir Henry Sydney was ambassador to the French King: and letters were sent to Sir William Pickering, lieger there, touching the business about which Sir Henry was sent.

The magistrates of Strasburgh send for Peter Martyr.

About this time letters were sent to the King from the magistrates of Strasburgh, (from which place the learned Peter Martyr came last into England,) to permit the same reverend man to return again to them; for that they needed him in their public schools. But the King, and Archbishop Cranmer, and as many as favoured sincere religion and sound knowledge in divinity, were loath to lose him from Oxford, where he now was placed the King's professor. Therefore a letter from the King was sent to Christopher Mount, the King's agent in those parts, residing there, to make relation to the said magistrates of Argentine, "that Peter Martyr, "whom they desired to return thither for the government "of their schools, could not depart hence, he being already "appointed reader of the King's Majesty's public lectures "of divinity at Oxford, and was admitted free denizen: "and to desire them to accept his Majesty's doings herein "in good part."

The King's answer.

Naval stores brought in by composition.

The King took care of his shipping: and to supply himself from the east country with cables, cordage, and other naval stores, in the month of February he agreed to allow ten clothiers of Suffolk to make five hundred coarse cloths, for the use of Richard Crag, of London, draper, to be transported to Dansig, and the eastern parts; commanding the customers to take bond of the same person, to bring in the said naval provisions, as much as should amount to the value of the said cloth.

CHAP. XV.

A commission for inquiry into heresies. The new service. The Bishop of Durham's troubles: deprived. A synod. Articles of Religion, and a Catechism, confirmed. Articles for uniformity. Gilpin's sermon at court.

NOW for a few matters relating to religion, or religious men. A commission was directed this year, dated in October, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and other worshipful persons in Kent, to make inquiry after sundry heresies lately sprung up; and for the examination and punishment of erroneous opinions, as it seems, of the Anabaptists and Arians: of which sort some now, notwithstanding former severities, shewed their heads. Under pretense of this commission, some Papists of that country did hope to bring divers honest professors of the gospel into trouble. And indeed these were the chief procurers of this commission, and were joined with the Archbishop in it: dissembling, nevertheless, to be indifferent in the matters of religion. The Archbishop and commissioners sat at Ashford. Among others questioned at this commission, a man and a woman of good life, and professors of religion, living at Ashford, were accused falsely by several employed for that purpose, to have been lewd together in an house: where, the witnesses said, they saw them by moonshine, at eleven o'clock at night, in an entry on such a side of the house, and on such a day of the month. And they cried out to the Archbishop, for exemplary punishment to be taken on them. The Archbishop going that day to dinner, passed by the side of the house where this lewdness was pretended to be committed: where making a stop, by considering found that the moon, on the day sworn, shone on the other side of the house at eleven o'clock, and was hardly up, or but just rising at that time. So that it appeared not possible to see into that part of the house at that time, by the help of the moon. And considering withal the good reputation of the man, and of the woman especially, and the

Anno 1552.

A commission for certain heresies in Kent.

The Archbishop's sagacity.

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

ill disposition of the accusers, by this means the sagacious Archbishop made a clear discovery of the innocency of these two folks, and the malicious wickedness of their adversaries: and so he set them both at liberty. And when a year or two after he was himself in bands at Oxford, he sent a present to the good woman, by one W. P. to whom the Archbishop told this story, and who writ this account; desiring her to forgive him for his straitness used towards her. And the said person carried this present unto the woman, and delivered the message accordingly.

Fox, 1st edit. p. 1477.

Orders about the new revised Common Prayer Book. Council-Book.

As the revising, perusing, explaining, and finishing the Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, had been committed to the Archbishop, and certain other learned divines; so the work was completed, and was printed off by Grafton, in the month of September, anno 366 1551. But it seems the book was not so correct as it should be; for September 27, an order came to Grafton, the printer, in any wise to stay from uttering any of the books of the new service: and if he had distributed any of them among his company, [of Stationers,] that then he give strait commandment not to put any of them abroad, until certain faults therein were corrected. And, probably, one reason of this order might be, for inserting the article for declaring the right meaning of kneeling at the communion. For which there was an order in October.

The revisers.

These reviewers, before spoken of, were Cranmer, Ridley, and certain other doctors; whereof Dr. Cox was one: who being met together at Windsor, diligently, as their scope was, reformed the book according to the word of God.

They designed to restore discipline.

And they intended also to proceed to the restoring of a good discipline in the Church. But here great stop and opposition was made; and loath men were to be brought under ecclesiastical discipline. Of this, Cox wrote to Bullinger,

Cox to Bullinger.

October 5, 1552. Therein he told him, "that they had "already altered the rites of the public prayers and sacra-"ments, and framed them according to the rules of God's "word. But we hate, said he, those bitter institutions of "Christian discipline. We would be sons, yea, heirs, but

"we abhor the rod. And he prayed Bullinger, that he "would by his letters stir up the great men and nobles, to "take particular care about this discipline; without which, "with great grief he spake it, the kingdom of God would be "taken away from them." But something Cox met with in Bullinger's fifth Decad, in the place where he treated of the Lord's supper, which he was not satisfied in, and which looked contrary to an order they had made in the Communion-Book, concerning communicating the sick: which that learned man seemed not to allow of, for want of a congregation, which four or five persons could not make. Where Cox propounded this inconvenience, as arising from his opinion; "What if, when the Lord's supper was to be "publicly administered, all should go out, or refuse, besides "three, four, or five, that stayed to receive; might not the "sacrament be lawfully administered to them? Why then "should the sick be deprived of that liberty?" Of this he desired Bullinger's fuller solution.

CHAP. XV.

Anno 1552.

D.

The new service ratified.

But as for the aforementioned book, thus reformed, called now *the new service*, it was ratified by the Parliament that sat in January following, in an act, entitled, *An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments.* Whereby all persons were enjoined to resort to their parish churches on Sundays and holydays, to hear those prayers, and to abide there quietly and soberly, upon pain of the censures of the Church: and no other forms to be used, nor any present at such forms, upon pain of imprisonment.

Bishop of Durham's troubles:

There had, about the year 1550, been a conspiracy in the north: to which the Bishop of Durham had been privy; but thought fit to conceal it. But one Ninian Menvil discovered it; and withal informed against the said Bishop: whereupon he was in danger of misprision of treason. This business against the Bishop came before the Council in the month of June, when it began to be considered: but the King being then about taking his progress, it was resolved, June 19, to defer it till his Majesty's return. About September the Bishop was sent up for by the Council, upon certain ac- 367

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

cusations. And accordingly, about the beginning of October, he was in London. And on the 4th and 5th days of the said month, lodged at the late monastery of White Monks on Tower-hill; and soon after was committed thence to the Tower; and a special commission appointed for his trial. Which commission was directed to Sir Roger Cholmely, lord chief justice of the King's Bench, Sir Richard Read, John Gosnold, Richard Goodrick, Robert Chidley, ——— Stamford, esquires, and Richard Liel, doctor of the law, &c. or to seven, six, or five of them, "to call before them, "at such time and place as they should think convenient, "Cutbert, bishop of Durham, and examine him of all man-"ner of conventicles, conspiracies, contempts, and conceal-"ments, or other offences. And if he be found guilty, to "deprive him of his bishopric; and otherwise, to do in the "premises according to their wisdoms," &c. In fine, he was found guilty, and deprived, the 14th of October, of his bishopric; or the 11th day, according to King Edward's Journal.

And deprivation.

The bishopric bestowed upon Horn. Warr. Book.

And as Tunstal was thus deprived in October, so in November following a grant was made to Robert Horne, professor of divinity, and dean of Durham, of the said bishopric, with all the lordships, manors, lands, &c. to the same belonging, during his natural life. But in an Apology writ by the said Horn, soon after his flying abroad under Queen Mary, it is evident that he accepted not of it: and the reason why he refused it was, because he cared not to take Tunstal's bishopric over his head. Yet Tunstal, when restored in the said Queen's reign, was his great and chief enemy, as he complained in the said apology. The bishopric was soon after dissolved, with an intent to found two in the room of it.

Menvile rewarded.

Outlawed under Q. Mary. Cok. Instit. par. iii. p. 215.

But a warrant was issued out to Sir John Williams to pay to Menvile, [for his good service in making this discovery,] by way of his Majesty's reward, the sum of 100*l.* but he paid for this afterwards. For in the first and second of King Philip and Queen Mary, under the name of *Nician Menvile nuper de Sedwick in com. Dunelm, Armig.* he was

CHAP. XV.

Anno 1552.

indicted in the King's Bench of high treason, [perhaps he was concerned in Wyat's business,] and upon process he was outlawed, and so returned. He lived to the fourth year of Queen Elizabeth: in whose reign, long after, his daughter and heir brought in a writ of error in the King's Bench against her father's indictment; wherein two errors were assigned. And the outlawry was reversed, *anno regin. Elizab.* 27.

Bishop Tunstal and the Dean charged about a conspiracy in 1548. Angl. Sacr. par. 1.

De Chambre, in his history of the bishops of Durham, sheweth how Menvile, (whom he calls Rinian Menvile,) as he accused Bishop Tunstal of concealing a conspiracy in the north in the year 1550, so in the year 1548 he had also accused him, together with his chancellor, and the Dean: and I suspect it was of a crime of the like nature; for it is probable enough, that as in that year there was a dangerous rebellion by Papists broken out in the west, so there might be another hatching in the northern parts, to back them. Upon this accusation, the said Bishop, and the two other accused with him, were summoned up to London; where the Dean, named Dr. Whitehead, formerly the prior there, an ancient man, and not used to these harasses and troubles, ended his days, and was buried in the church of the Minories, London.

368

Hayward taxed.

Hayward, that undertook to write the history of King Edward's life, was ignorant of all this. For this is all he writ of Bishop Tunstal's troubles; "That he was sent to the "Tower for concealment of I know not what treasons, writ-"ten to him, I know not by whom, and not discovered "until what I shall call the party, did reveal it." Because he could pick nothing else of this matter out of King Edward's brief Journal, which was the main assistant of his history, and he could not tell where to go, or would not take the pains to give himself further information, he sets it down after this sarcastical manner, below the gravity of an historian; and all, the better to conceal his own ignorance, and to tax the government. Was this writ like an historian, whose office is to relate and give the reader plain and satis-

BOOK II.

factory accounts of things? But this is a digression which the reader will pardon. And I proceed.

Anno 1552.

A synod.

Articles of Religion.

Warr. Book.

While the Parliament was sitting this winter, a synod also was held; wherein was framed and concluded a book of Articles of Religion, taken out of the word of God, purified and reformed from the errors of Popery and other sects. "But it was in the month of May, anno 1553," (I transcribe out of the Warrant-Book,) "that these Articles, "agreed upon by the bishops and other learned men, in "the synod at London, in the year of our Lord 1552, for "avoiding of controversy in opinions, and the establishment "of a godly concord, in certain matters of religion, were "published by the King's commandment." And a book, containing these Articles, was then signed by the King's own hand.

A Catechism approved by the synod.

A Catechism for the instruction of children in the fundamentals of true religion passed the said synod; but who was the author was not known in those days. Bishop Ridley was charged to be the author and publisher thereof, by Ward and Weston, in the disputation with him at Oxford; who falsely also told him, that Cranmer had said so but the day before. Ridley declared he was not, and that Cranmer would not say so. But he confessed that he saw the book, perused it after it was made, and noted many things for it: and so consented to the book. Weston then told Ridley, that he made him at the synod to subscribe it, being then a bishop, as he said, in his ruff: but Ridley replied, he compelled no man to subscribe. Indeed he set his hand to it; and so, he said, did Cranmer; and that then it was given to others of the convocation to set their hands, but without compulsion. Ward then would have framed an argument out of this Catechism against Ridley, to prove, that though Christ was ascended into heaven, yet he might be on earth; and so consequently in the sacrament: and then quoted a passage out of it, *Si visibiliter et in terris*, &c.

Licence for printing it.

What I have to say more of this Catechism is, that it seems to have been published in English as well as in Latin,

that John Day printed it, and licensed to come abroad 1552. For, according to the Warrant-Book, "in September, 1552, "a licence was granted to the same printer, to print it both "in Latin and English, the King having caused it to be set "forth:" but it was not printed before 1553. And the reason it was so long between the licence and the publication, (half a year and more,) I conjecture was, because it was thought fit to have the allowance first of the convocation, for the giving it the greater countenance and authority. It was certainly writ by Alexander Noel, as I find by comparing Noel's Catechism and this together. The *collocutores* are in both Catechisms the same, *viz. magister* and *auditor*. And in many places the very same questions and answers are given *verbatim;* only Noel's Catechism, published under Queen Elizabeth, is much larger. In May the next year, *viz.* 1553, the Council sent their letters abroad in behalf of this Catechism, enjoining it to be taught to scholars, "as the ground and foundation of their learning," as it is expressed in the Warrant-Book.

CHAP. XV.

Anno 1552. Warr. Book.

The author.

369

Enjoined to schools.

At the same time were many letters issued out, dated May 20, to the clergy, "That the King had sent unto them cer-"tain articles (which were fifty-four in number) for an uni-"form order to be observed in every church within the realm: "which articles are there said to be gathered with great "study, and by the greatest learned men of the bishops," &c. These articles were enjoined for uniformity in *rites*, as the last year were framed the articles for uniformity in *doctrine*, being forty-two in number, though published not before June this year. And thus, by the care of the Archbishop, the reformation of the Church seemed to be completely provided for. But what these articles were, I cannot tell; nor do I know any book or manuscript but this, where there be any footsteps or mention of them.

Articles for uniformity. Warr. Book.

Vide Cranmer's Memorials, ch. 27.

Bernard Gilpin, famed in the north for his good zeal to religion, and his care of his flock, was sent for up to court to preach before the King. In obedience to which he came up, and on the first Sunday after Epiphany he preached, though the King, upon some occasion detained, was not

Gilpin preaches at court.

BOOK II.

Anno 1550.

present to hear him. It being a notable sermon, not sparing vice, in whomsoever he met with it, and pointing to the corruptions of these times, I shall briefly give some account of it. He preached upon the gospel for the day, which was Luke ii. beginning at ver. 49, taking only one clause of it, *Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?* The method he chose for his discourse was, to shew in order, how all estates of men, the clergy, the nobility, and the commonalty, were under the bands of this obligation. They must be about their Father's business. And he must, he said, cry so unto all estates, as well of the ecclesiastical ministry, as of the civil governance, together with the vulgar people.

The contents of his sermon.

He began with the priests, who, he said, seemed to have brought blindness into the whole body, making men to forget their heavenly Father's business. Then he shewed the avarice and ambition of the clergy in former days; and how the Bishop of Rome abused Peter's keys to fill Judas's sachel; how he dispensed with all prelates that brought any money, from obeying Christ's commission given to Peter, *Feed, feed my lambs and my sheep;* and stretched it so largely, that instead of feeding Christ's lambs and sheep, he allowed them to feed hawks, hounds, and horses, I will not say, said he, harlots: and instead of fishers of men, he made them to become fishers of benefices. He brought preaching into such contempt, that it was accounted a great absurdity for a cardinal to preach after he had once bestrid his moyle. And then he declared, that if he had that gift, strength, and calling, (though he were sure to smart for it,) he had rather speak against the Pope's enormities in Rome, than to speak of them there. Then he declaimed against the intolerable abuses that came from Rome, and could not be driven away, and sent to Rome again to their father:
370 he meant dispensations for pluralities and *totquots*, and for non-residences: which had, he said, so many patrons, that they could not be driven away, together with other abuses.

From the clergy he intended to turn his speech to the King and the nobles; but they were not then present

Whereat he used these words; "I am come this day to "preach to the King, and to those that be in authority un- "der him. I am very sorry they should be absent, which "ought to give example, and encourage others to the hear- "ing of God's word. And I am the more sorry, because "other preachers before me complain of their absence. But "you will say, they have weighty affairs in hand. Alas! "hath God any greater business than this?——But in their "absence I will speak to their seats, as if they were pre- "sent." And so he proceeded to speak to the King, and then to the nobles. Whereof, concerning such of them as were patrons of livings, he said, that they saw that none did their duty: and that they thought as good to put in asses as men: and that as for the bishops, they were never so liberal formerly in making of lewd priests, but they were at that present as liberal in making lewd vicars. He dared to say, that if such a monster as Dervil Gatherel, the idol of Wales, burnt in Smithfield, could have been well conveyed to come to set his hand to a bill to let the patron take the greatest part of the profits, he might have had a benefice.——For worldly offices, they searched meet and convenient men; only Christian souls, so dearly bought, were committed, without respect, to men not worthy to keep sheep.

He advised the King to send forth surveyors to see how benefices were bestowed and used, how Christ and his gospel were robbed and dishonoured, to the great decay of the realm and commonwealth. That he should find but a small number of patrons, that bestowed rightly their livings, seeking God's glory, and that his work and business might be rightly applied. For that it was almost general to observe of every one of them, his farming of them to himself or his friends, and to appoint the rent at his own pleasure. But worse than all this, a great number never farmed them at all, but kept them as their own lands, and gave some three halfpenny-priest a curate's wages, 9*l.* or 10*l.*——They began first with parsonages, and seemed to have some conscience towards vicarages. But now their hearts were so hardened,

BOOK II. Anno 1552.

all is fish that comes to the net. That there were vicarages about London, having a thousand people belonging to them, so spoiled.——Gentlemen kept in their hands livings of 40*l.* or 50*l.* and gave one that never came there, 5*l.* or 6*l.* Some changed the grounds of the benefice with their tenants; to the intent, that if it were called for, the tenant should lose it, and not they. He could name the place where a living of an hundred mark by the year, [mentioned in the margent, *viz.* Crostwait and Cheswic,] had been sold for many years, he supposed an hundred, save one; and so continued still.——That noblemen rewarded their servants with livings appointed for the gospel.——That he was not able to rehearse, nor yet any man knew, all the abuses which the simoniac, ambitious, and idol pastors had brought into the land. By whose examples, ravenous wolves, painted Christians, hypocrites, had entered and defiled the sanctuary, spoiled Christ and his gospel, to the destruction of his flock.

371 Then he descended to shew what gross superstition and blindness remained among the people, through lack of faithful preachers. He passed over much infidelity, idolatry, sorcery, charming, witchcrafts, conjuring, trusting in figures, &c. which lurked in corners, and began of late to come abroad, only for lack of preaching; they thought baptism not effectual, because it wanted men's traditions. A great number thought it a great offence to take the sacrament into their hands, that had no conscience to receive it with their blasphemous mouths.——Many, because they saw not in the church the shining pomp of painted cloths, candlesticks, images, altars, lamps, tapers, they said, *As good go into a barn:* nothing esteeming Christ, who spake to them in his holy word; neither the holy sacrament, reduced to its first institution.——That the Devil, by those cormorants that devoured the livings appointed for the gospel, had made a fortress and bulwark to keep learned pastors from the flock; that is, so to decay learning, that there should be none learned to commit the flock unto. For by reason livings appointed for the ministry, for the most

part, were either robbed of the best part, or clean taken away, almost none had any zeal or devotion to put their children to schools, but to learn to write, to make them apprentices, or else lawyers: the two wells, Oxford and Cambridge, almost dried up.——The decay of students so great, that there was scarce left of every thousand an hundred: adding, that if they decayed so fast, in seven years more there would be almost none at all. And then might the Devil make a triumph.——A thousand pulpits in England were covered with dust. Some had not had four sermons in fifteen or sixteen years, since friars left their limitations: and few of those worthy the name of sermons. These were some of the gross abuses and corruptions used in the Church before, and even to this time, for covetousness sake. And this was the free and honest way, this and other preachers in these days used in exposing of them. But now to other matters.

CHAP. XVI.

New sergeants. Lady Mary visits the King. The King's sales. A Lasco's judgment of the ceremonies. His epistle to the King. Books printed. Leland dies.

The new sergeants sworn.

ABOUT the 7th of October, the seven sergeants of the coif, nominated in May last, went unto Westminster-hall in their gowns and hoods of murrey and russet, and their servants in the same colour. There their charge and oath was given them by the King's judges and old sergeants. This done, they returned with the judges, and the old sergeants, and learned men of the law, unto Gray's Inn to dinner, together with many of the King's privy council, nobles, and the lord mayor and aldermen. The new sergeants gave to every 372
judge, the old sergeants, and men of the law, rings of gold, every new sergeant giving like rings. After dinner they repaired to Paul's, and so went up the stairs, and round about the choir, and there did their homage. And so came unto the north side of Paul's, and stood upon the steps, until four old sergeants came together, and fetched four young,

BOOK II.

and brought them unto certain pillars. And an oration was there read unto them by the old sergeants. And so down again they went unto Gray's Inn.

Anno 1552.

Sir Tho. Germyn died.

Sir Thomas Germyn, knight, the best housekeeper in the county of Suffolk, died about this time. Part of his state in housekeeping consisted in his chapel, where prayers and holy offices were daily celebrated, with singing and singing men, as in cathedrals. The county was reckoned to have had a great loss in him. His funerals were pompously performed, with his standard, pennon of arms, coat armour, target, borne by heralds, &c. October 21.

Two knights of the Garter.

December 16, the Earl of Westmorland and Sir Andrew Dudley were installed at Windsor of the noble order of the Garter.

The King keeps a great Christmas.

Ditto, the 23d, the King removed from Westminster to Greenwich, to keep his Christmas there. And began to keep hall; and had a lord of misrule, who ordered the sports and pastimes for the King's diversion; which were in as great variety and royal pomp, as scarcely ever had been seen before.

Waltham steeple falls.

February 9, between seven and eight of the clock in the evening, the great steeple of Waltham abbey in Essex fell down to the ground, and all the great bells; and the choir, and much of that stately church, demolished with it.

The Lady Mary visits the King.

On the 10th day of the said month, the Lady Mary (who on the 6th came to London to St. John's through Cheapside, attended with lords and ladies, knights and gentlemen, to the number of two hundred) rode through Fleet-street unto the King at Westminster, nobly and numerously accompanied: for they now seemed to look upon her as the rising sun, the King being in a consumption. Among the ladies that now attended her were the two Duchesses of Suffolk and Northumberland, the two Marchionesses of Northampton and Winchester, the Countesses of Bedford, Shrewsbury, Arundel, the Lady Clinton, the Lady Brown, and many more. When she arrived at the outward court, there met her the Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Bedford, Shrews-

CHAP. XVI.

Anno 1552.

bury, Arundel, the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Admiral, and a great number of knights and gentlemen. And so she was conducted up to the chamber of presence, and there the King met her, and saluted her. This visit seemed to be, to see him in his sickness.

On the 24th of February, Sir William Sydney was honourably buried at his place at Pensehurst in Kent.

The Earl of Pembroke's retinue.

On the 17th ditto, the Earl of Pembroke came riding into London, with three hundred horse; afore him, an hundred gentlemen with chains of gold; all in blue cloth plain, with badges on their sleeves, being a dragon. And so to Bernard castle; which was his place.

Strangwich, a pirate:

And two Killigrews.

In the month of March, the King sent forth several ships to find out and apprehend one Strangwich, a great pirate; and appointed 460*l.* to be laid out in victualling and furnishing those ships for the service. I find this Strangwich, and two Killigrews with him, such notable sea rovers, that in the month of February the King sent a letter to the French King, that he would do his endeavour for the apprehension of them; perhaps to vindicate himself from conniving at them for any damage they might do to that King's subjects, as well as to prevent them from doing any more to his own.

A commission for martial law.

Popular disturbances and tumults seemed now to be very frequent, and the common people uneasy under the present juncture: which occasioned, surely, that severe commission which was given out this month of March, to John Earl of Bedford, William Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Darcy, Sir William Petre, Sir John Baker, Sir Philip Hoby, Sir Robert Bows, Sir Thomas Wroth, Edward Griffith, John Gosnold, or to any six or more of them; to put in execution all such martial laws as should be thought by their discretions most necessary to be executed. And instructions were also given them in nine distinct articles.

The King's sales.

Book of Sales.

In this month of March, and the month preceding, the King sold away his lands and lordships in great quantity, (besides not a few given to his courtiers,) his necessities, no question, so requiring. So that all this money following

BOOK II. came into the Exchequer for so many several purchases: (for it would be too long to mention the names of the lands and purchasers.)

Anno 1552.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
In Feb.	2055	19	2	In Mar.	1036	14	10
	289	6	8		1199	15	1 *ob.*
	390	17	0		359	12	0
	1343	10	10		568	4	5
	1331	18	1		389	19	5 *ob.q.*
	951	2	2		386	13	8
	958	6	8		346	1	10
	246	5	0		246	0	0
	1988	16	5 *ob.*		574	0	0
	146	13	4		694	4	0
	930	14	6		1696	11	9
	700	2	4		300	4	8
	4570	14	0		917	10	5
	566	15	4		933	6	8
	396	13	6		580	5	6
	694	2	2		889	15	8
	1223	15	0		1718	10	3
	564	5	6		732	10	11
	712	15	4		1340	3	4
	425	19	8		613	6	8
	850	0	0		870	15	1
	767	8	4		744	3	11
					646	5	9
In Mar.	1482	9	3		1596	7	8
	66	13	4		1417	8	6
	1606	3	2		1305	8	10
	1248	17	7 *ob.*		229	3	4
	1477	19	2 *ob.*				

374 Besides these, were many more purchases made of the King's lands the year ensuing. For the sale of which, there was a commission on purpose, directed to the Bishop of Norwich, Sir John Gates, Sir Philip Hoby, Sir Walter Mildmay, and others.

Divers there were now, in this King's reign, that liked so

side of Popery, that they thought it highly convenient not to symbolize with that Church in any of its usages. And that gave occasion to them to dislike particularly two things; *viz.* the posture of kneeling at the reception of the sacrament; and the priestly habits; which were not laid aside by the reformers of this Church from Papal innovations. The retaining of these gave the more disgust, because it was contrary to the example of many of the foreign reformers, as those of Switzerland and Geneva; whose books and judgments swayed greatly, and were much used here. A Lasco, the superintendent of the foreigners' congregations in London, being a person greatly respected by the King, and the nobility, and bishops, as for his noble blood, so for his learning and religion, was put upon writing on this argument to the King. And he composed a treatise in Latin of the Sacrament, which was printed in London, 1552. This book bore this title; *Brevis et dilucida de Sacramentis Ecclesiæ Christi Tractatio. In qua et fons ipse et ratio totius sacramentariæ nostri temporis controversiæ paucis exponitur, naturaque ac vis Sacramentorum compendio et perspicue explicatur: per Joannem A Lasco, Baronem Poloniæ, Superintendentem Ecclesiæ Peregrinorum Londini, anno* 1552. in 8vo. Together with this book was bound up a tract entitled, *Consensio mutua in re sacramentaria Ministrorum Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ, et D. Jo. Calvini, Ministri Genevensis Ecclesiæ. Data Tiguri, Aug.* 30, 1549. This book the noble author presented to several of the court, his friends, and among the rest, to Sir Anthony Cook. Which very book was lately in the possession of a very reverend friend of mine, deceased, and hath these words writ in it by A Lasco's own hand, *Clarissimo ac doctissimo viro Dno Cuko, Præceptori Regio fidelissimo, Joannes A Lasco, D. D.* Before it was an epistle to King Edward. Which, to shew what arguments swayed with A Lasco, and others, at this time, for the abolishing all habits and customs used in the Papal worship, I shall here set down, and the rather, it being now so rarely to be met with.

CHAP. XVI.

Anno 1552.

Kneeling at the sacrament, and the habits, give offence.

A Lasco's book.

Mr. N. Battely.

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

A Lasco to the King, concerning the habits.

"*Joannes A Lasco, &c. to the renowned Edward the*
"*Sixth.*

"*Recte facit pater, laudemque meretur proculdubio, si*
"*filiam virginem,*" &c. The English whereof was as follo-
"weth: "Well doth that father, and without doubt de-
"serveth praise, who, having a daughter a virgin, drawn
"by the guile of panders into some lewd and dishonest
"house, and there trimmed after the whorish guise, doth
"presently rescue her thence, and bring her home to his
"own house, before she be utterly spoiled. But the same
"father, if he be wise, thinketh it not enough for the safety
"of his daughter, and the honour of his house, that he
"hath brought her home again, unless he take from her
"wholly whatsoever he knoweth to be accounted in those
"houses an whorish attire: neither doth he inquire whence
"such attire came first, but judgeth it dishonourable to
375 "himself, and so unworthy his daughter, and whole family,
"that any such thing at all, as strumpets have used for
"dressing in their houses, should appear in his. And he
"doth not give ear to their persuasions, who bear him in
"hand, that all things are to be esteemed according to the
"father's mind in his own house; and so think that the
"father's approbation can make that honest in his own
"house for his daughter and whole family, which in an-
"other house is most dishonest for any daughters that re-
"gard their own credits. Ascribing so much to the fa-
"ther's prerogative, that whatsoever he approves must be
"of others well liked of, so far as it concerns his own
"house. For he knows full well, that although all those
"things, which he hath authorized in his own house, be
"there well thought of, yet that is not enough, since the
"honour of his daughter, and his whole family, must not
"only be cared for within his own house, but also through-
"out the whole city; that he may remove all ill suspicions
"from his family among all his neighbours; and is heedful
"that the panders have not the least occasion left them, of
"challenging or laying claim to his said daughter, as hav-
"ing something of their whore-house marks upon her.

"Even so in the Church of God, as in a city, magistrates "and ministers are in place of parents, having the pure "and right administration of the sacraments committed "unto them of God, for to be tended and tendered as their "own daughter; it is therefore very commendable in these "parents of the church, as we may term them, if they res-"cue the lawful and pure administration of the sacraments "from the violence and tyranny of the Romish panders, by "taking it into their own care and custody.

"But here they ought to remember, especially they "who are called by the Holy Spirit eminent ministers of "God, and nursing fathers of his Church, that is, Christian "kings and monarchs, that it is not enough for them, thus "to have brought this daughter out of the Papist stews "home, into their own care and keeping, unless they also "put off from her all that dressing which they know to be "whorish in the stews. That no such thing may be seen "with them, which may be accounted whorish; especially "in that city where there is great variety of judgments; "the overruling whereof by man's authority is not to be "expected, and where there are so many hucksters for the "stews remaining.

1743320

"Nor let them hear the delusions of those, who suggest, "that such kinds of dressing, from whencesoever they be "taken, may be made good and honest by authority. For "well they know, they are not set over the whole Church "of God, but only one part of it, as a family in a city: "and that therefore, though they could bear out such "things at home by their authority; yet it is their duty, "as they regard public chastity and honesty, to procure "the honour of their daughter and family, not only within "their own walls, but also without the whole city; not "suffering any thing to be seen within their house, which "they know to be held, urged, and maintained by the "Romish stews, and their instruments, as their proper "whorish stuff.

"Last of all, they must be wary, lest any signs or tokens

376

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

"be left upon their daughter, by which she may be questioned again by these panders, as one of theirs.

"Now if it please your excellent Majesty, you are one "of these nursing fathers of the Church of God, blessed be "his name; therefore, in this high calling, you have by "the Lord God this ministry of the sacraments, as a "daughter rescued out of the Popish brothels, and brought "into your own house, that is, into your own domestic care "and keeping. Here therefore be pleased to set before "your eyes the foresaid example of a good father in those "things which yet remain to be performed; that is, in "providing for the public credit of this your reduced "daughter, and so of your whole family, not only in this "your flourishing kingdom, but also in the Catholic Church "of Christ, whereof you are a citizen: unto whom a principal part thereof, as an honourable family, is committed "in trust.

"This is that which all the godly throughout the Christian world do expect from your hands; and that the "more earnestly, because they know, that God hath enriched you with such excellent gifts, and placed you in "so high a station, almost above all others, even to this "very end, that you might remove from the ministry of "the sacraments all these Popish trinkets, wherewith it "hath been fearfully profaned, and restore unto it again "that virgin-like attire, wherewith it was of old adorned "by the high King of kings and Lawgiver, Christ the "Lord, in his holy institution. So shall your faith and fidelity be famous throughout the Christian world, and the "Church of England grow more honourable under your "government."

This letter was, to serve the turn of some dissenters, printed again, 1633, in a book entitled, *A fresh Suit against humane Ceremonies; or, A Triplication unto D. Burges his Rejoinder for Dr. Morton.*

To the former book of the Sacrament, published this

CHAP. XVI.

Anno 1552.

Catechismus brevis.

Articuli Religionis.

Marcus Constantius.

Lavat. Hist. Sacrament. In hoc libro fere omnia continentur, &c.

377

The Common Prayer in French.

more. I add a few more; *viz. Catechismus brevis Christianæ Disciplinæ summam continens, omnibus Ludimagistris, autoritate regia, commendatus. Mandato Regis Edwardi propositus.* In 12°. For the printing of which, John Day had a special licence granted him, dated in September.

Articuli de quibus Synodo Londinensi, anno Domini 1552. *convenerat, regia autoritate promulgati.* In 12°.

A book now also appeared in Latin with a feigned name, but it was known to be made by Bishop Gardiner, against Archbishop Cranmer's answer, set forth the last year. This book was printed at Paris, and went under this title, *Confutatio Cavillationum, quibus sacrosanctum Eucharistiæ Sacramentum ab impiis Capernaitis impeti solet. Autore Marco Antonio Constantio, Theologo Lovanensi.* Which was again learnedly answered by Peter Martyr. Of whose book, what the reputation was in those times, we are told by an eminent author, namely, "that in his book was contained "in effect whatsoever is delivered of the whole matter of the "eucharist, as well in scripture, as in the ancient fathers "and councils." At the entreaty of friends, the author reduced his book into an epitome.

Le Livre de Prières Communes, de l'Administration des Sacrements et autres Cérémonies en l'Eglise d'Angleterre. This book was our Book of Common Prayer, translated into French: which was done by Francis Philip, the Lord Chancellor's servant, as he styled himself, and printed by Tho. Gaultier, the King's printer for the French language, in the year 1553, that is, reckoning the year to begin in January; for in December, 1552, a licence was granted to this Gaultier of London, to print in French all such books of the Church as should be set forth. This book was by the said Francis Philip dedicated to Thomas Goodrich, bishop of Ely, lord chancellor. In which dedication he shewed, "how "the said Chancellor put him upon this translation, for "the use of the isles and lands which spake French: "which therefore he did very gladly undertake, and finish "as soon as possibly he could; not only to the end, that "the King's most royal and Christian ordinance for the use

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

"of this Book of Common Prayer to be used in all his do-
"minions, might obtain its effect, but also that all France
"might know, that the Christian religion was not wholly
"abolished in England, as many among them esteemed.
"For in reading this book they should know evidently,
"that God was here served in spirit and in truth, and that
"the sacraments were here administered purely and sin-
"cerely, according to the word of God: and that he was
"assured, that having read it, the good and well-disposed
"sort would say, Blessed be so noble a King, under whom,
"from day to day, the reformation of religion so increased
"and flourished."

Bale's Expostulation.

In this year also, John Bale printed and set forth a book entitled, *An Expostulation or Complaint against the blasphemies of a frantic Papist of Hampshire. Printed by John Day.* The Papist he wrote against, and for what cause, he declared towards the beginning of his book, *viz.* "That on one of the Christmas holydays, to wit, Decem-
"ber 29 last past, in the house of a gentleman of his own
"affinity in the said county, the said Papist, being in the
"full heat of his frenzy, brast out into this unreverend,
"blasphemous, and contemptuous talk of the King's Ma-
"jesty, and of his most godly proceedings: 'Alas! poor child,'
"said he, 'unknown it is to him, what acts are made now-
"adays. But when he comes once of age, he will see another
"rule, and hang up an hundred of such heretic knaves.'"
Meaning the preachers of those times: for at the same season he had most spitefully railed on one of them, being absent. These words Bale divided into three parts, and answered each at large: the first part touched the King's Highness; the second his honourable Council; and the third the true ministers of God's word.

That which touched the King he made to be, that this man had called the King *a poor child;* "when as," said Bale,
"he was abundantly replenished with the most gracious
"gifts of God; specially with all kinds of good learning,
"far above all his progenitors, Kings of this imperial region
"And when childishness in a king is reproved by the mouth

"of God, and given many times of him to a people as a "curse, plague, and scourge for their unfaithfulness. *I "shall give you children, saith the Lord, to be your princes, "and babes shall have rule over you.* Is. iii. That is, ye shall "have for your disobedience, men to be your governors "that are dissolute, rash, wanton, and careless: yea, men 378 "unexpert, and unexperienced in princely affairs, and men "which will not regard your commonwealth, but follow "their own lusts. Wo be to such a land, saith Solomon, "that hath so childish rulers. And all these childish ways "be detestable in a king; yet is not the childhood of youth "in him to be reproved: for so might King Josias have "been reproved, which began his reign in the eighth year "of his age.—Then he comes closer to this Papist, so blas-"phemously reporting the noble and worthy King Edward "(then in the fifteenth year of his age, and the fifth of his "reign) without all honour and reverence. He added, his "worthy education in liberal letters, and godly virtues, and "his natural aptness in retaining of the same, plenteously "declared him to be no *poor child*, but a manifest Solomon "in princely wisdom. His sober admonitions, and open "example of godliness at that day, shewed him mindfully "to prefer the wealth of the commons, as well ghostly as "bodily, above all foreign matters. Mark what his Ma-"jesty hath done already in religion, in abolishing the most "shameful idolatry of Antichrist, besides his other acts for "public affairs, and ye shall find at this day no Christian "prince like to him."

This book the author dedicated to the Duke of Northumberland, with this title, *To the right high and mighty Prince Johan Duke of Northumberland, Lord Great Master of the King's most honourable Houschold, and Lord President of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.* In this epistle he set him forth as a singular favourer and patriot of the true religion; which yet, as it appeared afterwards, influenced him no more than as it served to forward his worldly interest. For thus Bale addressed to him: "Considering in your noble Grace the same mighty, fer-

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

"vent, and religious zeal in God's cause, which I have diligently marked in Moses, the servant of God, &c.—This poor Expostulation am I, your poor orator, so much the bolder to dedicate to your Highness, in that I have always known the same a most mighty, zealous, and ardent supporter, maintainer, and defender of God's lively word. —Jesus Christ, whose invincible verity your Grace hath hitherto most fervently favoured."

Vocation of John Bale.

The same author, John Bale, set forth this year his *Vocation to the Bishopric of Ossory in Ireland*, and his persecution in the same, and his final deliverance.

Order for printing the Primer.

Here I shall subjoin a privilege granted to William Seres, stationer, to print all books of private prayers, called Primers, as should be agreeable to the Book of Common Prayer established by Parliament: and that none else printed the same, upon pain of forfeiture thereof. Provided, that before the said Seres and his assigns did begin to print the same, he should present a copy thereof, to be allowed by the Lords of the Privy Council, or by the Lord Chancellor for the time being, or by the King's four Ordinary Chaplains, or two of them. And when the same was, or should be, from time to time printed, that by the said Lords, and others of the Privy Council, or by the Lord Chancellor, or with the advice of the wardens of the occupation, the reasonable price thereof to be set, as well in the leaves, as being bound in paste or board: in like manner as was expressed in the end of the Book of Common Prayer. This privilege was dated March the 4th.

379 Leland dies mad.

I cannot here omit the mention of the death of the most learned antiquarian, John Leland, which happened in April this year, after he had been a year and upwards distracted, to the deplorable frustration of his noble designs of illustrating the history of this ancient nation. Being bereft of his wits, he became the King's care; who committed the keeping of him either to his father or uncle, I suppose, (for he was one of the same name,) John Leyland, or Leland, senior, together with all his lands, and rents, and profits whatsoever, in as ample manner as John the younger, being in his

right mind, enjoyed them, for the better sustentation of life. This grant was in the month of March, 1550. This Leland, who had the care of this poor gentleman, lived, I suppose, in Paternoster-row, which belonged to the parish of St. Michael the Quern, in which church, not much above a year after, he was buried. CHAP. XVI. Anno 15

He being a Londoner born, had his education under Lilly, the famous grammarian, and first master of the free school near St. Paul's. He had divers contemporaries, which, by their learning and advancement afterwards, added lustre both to the school where all of them were bred, and to the city where some of them were born: as namely, Sir William Paget, afterwards secretary of state, and made Lord Paget of Beau Desert, and honoured with the Garter. To whom Leland, addressing a copy of verses, speaks thus of Lilly, their common instructor: His schoolmaster and schoolfellows.

Notior ille tibi, notior ille mihi:

and makes mention of something which he [Paget] wrote in vindication of their master, against one Gonel, a learned man. Another of his schoolfellows was Sir Edward North, after also Lord North, and a privy counsellor, a citizen born. To him Leland dedicated some verses, mentioning therein their learning together:

Imbibimus læti litterulasque simul.

Sir Anthony Denny, gentleman of the privy chamber to King Henry, and a great favourer of the professors of the gospel, and as great a scholar, was also Leland's mate in this learned school: of whose wittiness and ingenuity there he speaks in a piece of his poetry, written to him. Sir Thomas Wriothesly, afterwards Lord Wriothesly, and Lord Chancellor of England, was also a Londoner born, and so was his father, and a great friend of our Leland, and was probably of the same school with him, being a man brought up in letters. In honour of whom did Leland also exercise his curious vein of poetry.

From this nursery of St. Paul's he was transplanted to the University of Cambridge; where, in learned studies,

BOOK II.

and converse with ingenious men, he took great delight, and made great improvements.

Anno 1552.

Applausit studiis Granta beata meis.

But afterwards, it seems, he studied at Oxford, and was there preferred, and made fellow of All Souls. His patrons and friends, besides those mentioned before, were Archbishop Cranmer, Sir Brian Tuke, Sir John Mason, Dr. Legh, Dr. Cox, Dr. Haddon; all men of fame in their days.

380

CHAP. XVII.

Commissioners from France. Corruptions at Court. Paget, and Beaumont, and the Earl of Arundel, their submissions. The university of Rostock to the King. The King's diligence, and good example. Free schools by him founded.

The French vapour.

THIS year came commissioners from France, Monsieur Aubrey and Monsieur du Val; the one lieutenant civil of Paris, the other an advocate unto the French King. An agent of the King's, whose name was Barnaby, met with them at London. They came about some matters of restitution to some English merchants, for ships and goods taken, pretending they belonged to the Spaniard, because they were not carried in English bottoms. They told Barnaby, in a vapouring sort, (which that nation was then much addicted to,) how little harm England in their wars was like to do them; and that in the last war, wherein King Henry, together with the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, invaded them, and took Bulloign, we did but spend all our riches, and destroyed a great number of subjects, and left all our money in Flanders and Artois, and could not now shew one town we had taken.

The way to distress France, and benefit England.

Upon this occasion Barnaby, in a letter to Sir William Cecyl, the secretary, related, by his own long experience of that country, (having made twenty-eight voyages thither,

employed by King Henry, and Cromwell,) how we might effectually distress that country: namely, by this one thing, increasing mariners in England. Whereas, for want of ships and shipmen, our commodities of our own growth were fetched away from us for very small prices by French vessels, to their exceeding enriching. He had seen going out of Rye at one tide thirty-seven hoys, laden with wood and timber, and never an English mariner among them. He had heard great complaints for want of English ships, to lade goods for Spain, and other places, and none to be had. Great benefit also might be made of our fishing, if we had ships; but especially of our Newcastle coals. This last, the French could not live without: it maintained those in France that wrought in steel, and metals, and wire, and made guns; and likewise their goldsmiths. The French custom was, that after their fishing was done, three or fourscore ships of Normandy and Britain were sent for coals; the gain whereof was prodigious. Coals were bought at Newcastle for two shillings and two pence a chaldron, and sold again in France for thirteen nobles.

CHAP. XVII.

Anno 1552.

Shipping.

These things considered, Barnaby's advice was, that the King of England should take coals into his own hands, (as the French King had taken salt,) and bring them into Kent, and there make a staple of them. And that no goods whatsoever should be carried out of England, but in English bottoms. By this means an infinite number of mariners would be set awork, and it would prove a great strength to the realm. And hereby England, in respect of trade and 381 seamen, might no longer be so inferior to France, which did at that present so much outdo it. For in these times there would sometimes come out at one tide from Diep five hundred boats, and more, and in every boat ten or twelve men: whereby the maritime towns maintained themselves, their towns and ports, by fishing, and grew very rich by trade. Whereas in England, Sandwich, Dover, Hyde, Hastings, Winchelsea, were decayed exceedingly for maintenance, and hardly any mariner in those ports: and Barnaby would undertake to set six or seven thousand mariners awork, in

A project for the King to take coals into his own hands.

BOOK II.

Anno 1552. E.

carrying coals only. But I betake the reader to Barnaby's letter, where he may read this, and other things worth noting, of the state of the nation, more at large.

The corruption of the Court. F.

The Court was very corrupt, and extremely covetous, especially towards the declining of the King's reign; taking continually from the King, (who was fain to borrow,) for the enriching of themselves, and making preys also one of another. The Lord Paget, chancellor of the duchy, and Beaumont, master of the rolls, and Whaley, receiver of Yorkshire, were in the month of May discovered to have grossly wronged the King. Paget had sold away lands, and great timber woods, and had taken great fines of the King's lands, to his particular profit and advantage, never turning any of it to the King's use. He made leases in reversion for more than twenty-one years. All this he confessed before the Privy Council, and surrendered his office, (which was after conferred upon Sir John Gates,) and submitted himself to what fines should be laid upon him. Beaumont bought lands with the King's money, lent the King's money, and kept it from the King, to the value of 9000*l.* and above, and 11,000*l.* obligations. And being judge in a cause in chancery between the Duke of Suffolk and the Lady Powis, he took her title, and went about to get it into his hands, paying a sum of money, and letting her have a farm of a manor of his; and caused a false indenture to be made, with the old Duke's counterfeit hand to it; (by which pretended indenture the said Duke gave these lands to the Lady Powis;) and went about to make twelve men perjured; and lastly, had concealed the felony of his man, to the sum of 200*l.* All this he confessed; and for these things surrendered all his offices, lands, and goods to the King, and gave the King an obligation under his hand and seal for his debt of 20,861*l.* and upwards. Whaley lent the King's money upon gain: he paid one year's revenue with the arrearages of the last: he bought the King's land for himself with the King's own money: in his accounts he made many false suggestions. At the time of the fall of money, he borrowed divers sums of money, and had allowance for it

K. Edward's Journ. p. 55.

See the Repository. D.

CHAP. XVII.

Anno 1552.

far: by which he gained 500*l.* at one crying down, the whole sum being 2000*l.* and above. All this he confessed, surrendered his office, and submitted to fines.

Paget and Beaumont for corruption brought into the Star-chamber.

The Lord Paget and Beaumont, June 16, were brought into the Star-chamber. There the former declared his submission by word of mouth, and delivered it in writing: he was fined 6000*l.* But Beaumont had denied his former confession before the Council: but now being called before the Council, he acknowledged a fine of his lands, and signed an obligation and surrender of all his goods. And on the 20th day, being brought again to the Star-chamber, he confessed all.

382

They surrender their goods and lands.

When the Council had discovered all this corruption, on the 18th of June, from Greenwich, they wrote the news of it to the Duke of Northumberland, Earls of Huntingdon and Pembroke, and Secretary Cecyl, who were in a journey, going down to the borders of Scotland, upon many disorders there, and negligent looking to the forts, the Duke being lord warden of the marches. Beaumont had surrendered his goods and lands to the King; but the King was not to be the better for them; some of them being presently begged by the Duke of Northumberland and Earl of Pembroke, for the Earl of Huntingdon. And Huntingdon another time will do the like courtesy for them, if need be. That which they asked for this Earl was, the custody of Gracedieu, the personage of Dunington, and the manor of Throuston and Swanington, parcel of the said Beaumont's possessions, with all his goods and chattels in and upon the said house and lands. And when order should be taken for the delivery of any of the lands of the Lord Paget, in satisfaction of part of his fine, they prayed the Council, that the Earl of Huntingdon and the Lord Chamberlain might not be forgotten; the one to have the custody of his house at Drayton, and the other of that at London. And as these things before mentioned came under the keeping of Huntingdon, so the next year he became the proprietor of them: for in June 1553 the King granted him the scite,

See this letter in the Repository. G.

BOOK II. circuit, and precinct, and also the manor of Gracedieu in Leicestershire, with divers other lands, to the yearly value of 158*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.*

Anno 1552.

The conclusion with the L. Paget.

The conclusion with the Lord Paget, after he was thus censured, and had also made his submission for being privy to the late Protector's practice against Northumberland, was in December following, when he had a general pardon of all offences and transgressions, and other negligences, except debts due to his Majesty in the Court of Exchequer, the Augmentation, the Wards, and the First-fruits and Tenths. And an indenture was made between the King's Majesty and the Lord Paget, for the assurance unto his Majesty of 100*l.* by year, and for the payment also of 2000*l.* that is to say, 1000*l.* at Christmas next, and the other at Christmas following. Yet not long after, he came into some favour at Court. For in February he had a discharge for the payment of the 2000*l.* imposed on him as a fine. And the month ensuing he had a special grant for his coat of arms, which before was taken away from him, upon pretence that it was given him by a king of arms that could not give it. But now the same coat was confirmed to him by patent, granted to him by the name of William Lord Paget, of Beaudesert, and his posterity for ever.

The Earl of Arundel in prison.

The third day of this month of December (that same day twelvemonth the Duke of Somerset was tried and condemned) did the Earl of Arundel appear before the King, and make his humble submission by word of mouth. He had been lord chamberlain, and of the Privy Council, but upon some occasion put out of both places: whereat he grew malecontent, and was dealt with to come into the late plot of the Duke of Somerset, against certain of the great nobles that bore the sway: yet he would not meddle, but concealed it, and chose to be a looker on, thinking to have his malice executed by other hands; but it cost him dear. For October 20, 1551, Crane, one of them in this plot, did confess, that the Earl knew of the matter, about inviting those no-
383 bles to the Lord Paget's house to a banquet, and then to

have cut off their heads: and that Stanhope was the messenger that went to the Earl. Upon this, November 8, the Earl, with Stoadly and St. Alban, his men, was committed to prison; and that because Crane did disclose more and more of him: and having been a prisoner above a twelvemonth, December 8, he was fain to make a submission, and submit to a fine. His submission was in these words, as they are taken out of the Council-Book, and there said to be by order of Council entered into the said book.

CHAP. XVII.

Anno 1552.

His submission. Council-Book.

"It may please your most excellent Majesty to understand, that whereas I, Henry Earl of Arundel, now prisoner in the Tower, have been charged to be one of the confederates and conspirators with Edward late Duke of Somerset, lately attainted, and with others, for the apprehension and imprisonment of divers noblemen, then and yet being of your Majesty's privy council: and forasmuch as upon my examination taken during the time of my imprisonment in the Tower of London, before John Duke of Northumberland, John Earl of Bedford, William Lord Marquis of Northampton, William Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Philip Hoby, knt. and otherwise, it doth appear, that I, the said Henry Earl of Arundel, was privy and of knowledge of the said dangerous conspiracy, practised by the said Duke and others, to the peril of the state of this your realm: and forasmuch also as I, the said Earl of Arundel, did not, according to my most bounden duty, reveal so much as I did know of the said Duke's intents to your Highness, or to some others of your Majesty's privy council, but did conceal and keep the same secret; whereby I do confess and acknowledge, that I have not only worthily deserved this mine imprisonment, but also that the same my said offence and concealment should be dangerous unto me, without your Majesty's clemency: for the mitigating therefore of the same, I do most humbly acknowledge, by this my submission, my said offence, and do crave and desire your most gracious pardon for the same: and further, do sub-

BOOK II.

"mit myself for the premises to the most merciful order of "your Highness, and of your most honourable Council."

Anno 1552. And fine.

After this submission, the Earl of Arundel appeared the same day before the Council: where the Lords informed him, that he was fined 6000 marks, to be paid in six years, at 1000 marks a year. And he was bound in a bond of 10,000 marks to pay the said fine: and was set at liberty, being admonished by the Lords to behave himself according to the duty of a nobleman, and to be indeed what he professed in words.

But the Earl found favour afterwards: for, May 10, a grant was made him, that he should pay 3221*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.* at the Augmentation, in form following; *viz.* at Easter next, 221*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.* and after, yearly at the same feast, 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* until the whole sum were satisfied and paid. And July 2 following, (that is, but four days before the King's death, being then also, as it appears, of the Privy Council,) a pardon and discharge was sealed to him for 10,000 marks, acknowledged by him to owe it to the King's Majesty by recognisance, upon certain considerations in the same expressed. This, we may conclude, was Northumberland's doing, his policy being to gain as many noblemen his
384 friends as he could, in the great intrigue he was then upon, to bring the crown into his family. But Arundel deceived him.

The university of Rostock to the King.

This nation was now become renowned abroad for its countenance to true religion and good learning, and King Edward for a right nursing father to both. While every where in Germany, and all other countries, the gospel and learning was oppressed and discouraged, England was the common asylum for all good and learned men to fly to: and hither they came daily, both for shelter and for subsistence. Among the rest I find one Wolfgang Perister, a Prussian, of the university of Rostock, who, by a letter from the rector and university, was recommended this year to the King. "They thanked God, who had yielded a quiet "harbour in the King's countries for the church and good

CHAP. XVII.

Anno 1552.

studies. And when in all other kingdoms the public ministers of the Church, and the studies of good learning, were either wholly destroyed or sadly wasted, by the "cruelty of popes, the tumults of wars, and the differences "of opinions, it was God's great mercy to afford a quiet "seat in the King's dominions for the godly constituted "churches and schools: which were so cherished by the "wisdom, piety, munificence, and authority of the King's "Majesty, that in these ornaments the kingdom of Eng-"land exceeded all the kingdoms of the world beside." His address to the King may be read in the Repository. H.

The King's diligence in his studies. Foxii MS.

And indeed good King Edward, among his many other princely qualities, was a true patron of learning, as loving and promoting it both in himself and others, from his youngest days. It was observed of him, how exceeding diligent he was usually at his book: he would sequester himself from all companies, into some chamber or gallery, to learn without book his lessons, with great alacrity and cheerfulness. If he spent more time in play and pastime than he thought was convenient, he would find fault with himself, and say, "We forget ourselves," as Mr. Cheke reported of him, "that should not lose *substantia pro acci-*"*dente*." He used to pen letters, both in English and Latin, as part of his exercises: the subject whereof generally was, to excite other young nobles, his acquaintance, to follow their studies, with very pretty arguments; as, what an ornament learning was, both to prince and people; what glory subjects might take in a learned prince; and what joy a prince might take in learned subjects; and the like.

The notable influence of the King's example upon certain scholars.

There was one Mr. Heron in these days, a schoolmaster of ingenuous youth; one of whose scholars had a father that took occasion, from the example of the King, to excite his son the more to follow his studies; writing to him sometimes in English and sometimes in Latin, these and such like passages of the King's diligence, and admonished him and his schoolfellows to follow the godly example of so virtuous a prince: adding, "That if they," (I do but transcribe,) "by his worth, and example, and precedent, wold

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

"apply their study and learning, it wold most happily "come to pas, that the lerned King shold have moch felicite in his lerned subjects, and they no les to glory in "so lerned and prudent a prince;" with such like persuasions. Which letters of commendations of the said King being uttered by chance unto the said schoolmaster, and having partly received letters thereof from the father of the said scholar, he incontinently caused them that were written in English to be turned into Latin by his scholars, 385 and such as were written in Latin to be Englished: using the same, not only as lessons for his scholars, but also as matter of animating and provoking unto the better and more diligent applying of their learning. Upon this occasion, the said Mr. Heron, as well by his letters as by his private talk, yielded unto the father of the said scholar right hearty thanks for his said letters, directed unto him and his son, touching the King's diligence; declaring plainly, that, in his opinion, the virtuous example of that worthy and good young King wrought more in the heads of his unwilling scholars, for their furtherance unto good literature, than all his travail among them in one year past before.

Schools founded by King Edward.

Cott. libr. Jul. B. 9.

How King Edward's good heart stood affected to the forwarding both of learning and sound religion too, appeared by appointing a school in his court for his henchmen, that is, his Majesty's pages, and other youth attending on him: and for encouragement of the schoolmaster, he assigned him a salary for life. For such a patent I have seen granted to Clement Adams, M. A. authorizing him to be schoolmaster to the King's Majesty's henchmen, with the fee of 10*l.* by the year for life: dated May 3, anno 6°. Edw. Reg. But especially this appeared by his founding so many schools in the nation; more, by a great many, than any of his predecessors had done. For, to compute only from the time that Bishop Goodrick had the great seal, in little more than sixteen months, he founded at least sixteen free schools.

For besides the schools at Bury in Suffolk, at Spillesby

in Lincolnshire, at Chelmesford in Essex, at Sedberg in Yorkshire, at Louth in Lincolnshire, and at East Retford in Nottinghamshire, with others founded by him in the years 1550 and 1551, these following owned the King for their founder, and were erected from December, anno 1551, being commonly called King Edward the Sixth's free grammar schools; *viz.* Brymingham in Warwickshire, Shrewsbury, Morpeth in Northumberland, Macclesfield in Cheshire, Nonne Eaton in Warwickshire, Stourbridge in Worcestershire, Bath, Bedford, Guilford in Surrey, Grantham in Lincolnshire, St. Alban's in Hertfordshire, Tunbridge, Southampton, Thorn in Yorkshire, Gyggleswic in Craven, and Stratford-upon-Avon. These schools had governors appointed over them, a master and usher, and endowed commonly with 20*l.* 30*l.* or 40*l.* per annum. And indeed, for the most part, the endowments were out of tithes formerly belonging to religious houses, or out of chantry lands given to the King in the first of his reign, according to the intent of the Parliament therein: which was, to convert them from superstitious uses unto more godly; as, in erecting grammar schools for the education of youth in virtue and godliness, for further augmenting the universities, and better provision for the poor: and the good King was so honest and just, to lay them out, in a considerable measure, for these pious ends. See the foundations of these schools distinctly specified in the Repository, from an original. I.

CHAP. XVII.

Anno 1552.

BOOK II.

CHAP. XVIII.

Anno 1552.

386 *Popery in Corpus Christi college, Oxon. Dr. Heins dies. Immanuel Tremellius preferred. Bishop Ponet's book. Knox at Newcastle. Lady Anne of Cleves. Day, late bishop, his judgment about altars. Commissions. Sir William Bowyer's last will. Ordinations of ministers. Places and offices bestowed.*

LET me be allowed to gather up a few more passages, that may deserve to be related, happening within this sixth year of the King.

The Council commits to the Fleet some of Corpus Christi coll. Oxon. Council-Book.

Dr. Morwin, president of Corpus Christi college, Oxon, and Welsh and Allen, fellows of the same college, were, May ult. summoned to appear before the Council. June 5, they were ordered to appear the Sunday following. June 15, they were committed to the Fleet. Their fault was, for using upon Corpus Christi day other service than was appointed by the Book of Service. And a letter was sent to the college, to appoint Jewel to govern the college during the imprisonment of the president. July 17, the Warden of the Fleet was ordered to release the president of Corpus Christi, upon his being bound in a bond of 200*l.* to appear next term before the Council. November 29, Allen, upon his conforming to the King's orders, was restored to his fellowship.

Dr. Heins dies.

In October departed an eminent man of the Church, Simon Heins, D. D. dean of Exeter, and prebendary of Westminster, being one of the first company of prebendaries planted there by King Henry, upon the new foundation thereof, as a reward for the services he did in embassies he was employed about by the King. He was an ancient favourer of the Gospel, even from the time he lived in Queen's college in Cambridge. He was one of the compilers of the English Liturgy under King Edward. And was succeeded in his prebend by Andrew Pern, D. D. the King's chaplain; and in his deanery by James Hadden, a learned and good man. The said Heins was true to the

interest of religion, and endured trouble for the sake of it, under King Henry. Suthray, treasurer of the church of Exeter, and Dr. Brewrwood, chancellor, accused him, their Dean, to the Council, for preaching against holy bread and holy water, and that he should say in one of his sermons, that "marriage and hanging were destiny:" whence they would have gathered treason against him, because of the King's marriage, as though he had an eye to that. But however upon this accusation he was sent to the Fleet, with Sir Philip Hoby, accused by Bishop Gardiner. Heins had also a prebend in the church of Windsor, where, about the year 1541 or 1542, he, with Sir Philip Hoby and his wife, Sir Thomas Chardin, Mr. Edmund Harman, Mr. Thomas Welden, and others, were by Dr. London, dean of Walling-387
ford, a busy persecutor, and some others, combining together, put into a paper of complaints; which was presented to Bishop Gardiner, the King's great privy counsellor, (in which plot himself privily was,) as aiders and maintainers of one Anthony Persons, a good preacher in Windsor, who was about that time burnt. And Heins was moreover accused as a common receiver of suspected persons.

Immanuel Tremellius hath a prebend of Carlisle.

With the mention of Heins, I join another confessor, of the same judgment, and of the same University, though of another country, *viz.* Immanuel Tremellius, an Italian by birth, escaping hither out of Germany for his religion; a man he was of great learning, and especially in Hebrew, harboured sometime by Archbishop Cranmer; and was appointed by the King to be the reader of Hebrew in Cambridge, with a salary. He had also a prebend of Carlisle, void by the death of William Pirrie, conferred on him: which the Bishop of Ely, lord chancellor, was very instrumental to his obtaining: for he had begged this prebend of the King for Dr. Bellasis. But he dying, the Chancellor in September, being then at Ely, wrote a letter to Secretary Cecyl, that he would procure that canonry for Immanuel, of the King: writing thus;

"Forasmuch as Immanuel, the Hebrew reader in Cam-

BOOK II.

Anno 1552. The Bishop of Ely to Cecyl in his behalf.

"bridge, taketh great pains, having little to take unto; "thought it well bestowed, if he might obtain it. And the "rather, forasmuch as I understand by one Anthony, a "Frenchman, who is in house with the said Immanuel, that "you yourself motioned the matter. Wherefore, if it shall "stand with your pleasure to help him to it, I shall be very "well contented, and glad thereof; and ye in so doing "shall deserve thanks at the university's hand, and have "him your continual orator for the same. As knoweth "Jesus, who have you in his keeping. From Ely, this 5th "of September.

"Your assured loving friend,
"T. Ely, Canc."

His patent was dated October 24, with a clause to be non-resident, as long as he read the said Hebrew lecture, with letters, or a writ for his induction.

Ponet's book for the marriage of priests.

About this time came forth a learned book, wrote by Dr. Ponet, or Poynet, now bishop of Winchester, for the lawfulness of priests' marriage: which, in the year 1554, Dr. Martyn, the civilian, made an answer, such as it was, to; dedicating his book (the better to ingratiate himself) to Queen Mary. Dr. Taylor, lately made bishop of Lincoln, not long after the edition of this book of Poynet's, preaching at St. Paul's Cross, took notice of it, with high commendations, and words of magnifying given unto it, as the said Martyn in his answer took notice; "As if," said he, "it "had been sent down from heaven by revelation, or had "proceeded out of the very bosom of the Holy Ghost." Taylor then said, "That therein was contained a sufficient "doctrine for priests' marriages, and learning enough to "convince all gainsayers." In this book, if you will take
388 Martyn's word, Poynet hath this expression, to shew the impossibility of living chaste: "Neither fasting nor watch-"ing, nor any such like, is more able to strait their desire, "life and health being preserved, than abating of moisture "and earth about the root of a tree, so ye kill him not, is "able to strait the same tree from bringing forth of leaves

"and blossoms in the spring-time of the year." And the foresaid Bishop Taylor, in that sermon at Paul's Cross, is said by Martyn to have alleged this passage out of Poynet's book, concerning the necessity for bishops and priests to marry, by St. Paul's doctrine to Timothy; "St. Paul saith "to Timothy and Tite, *A bishop or priest must be the husband of one wife.* Paul doth not say, It is enough for "him, if he hath had a wife; but he saith in the present "time, *Siquis* EST *sine crimine, unius uxoris vir, et oportet "ipsum* ESSE *irreprehensibilem.* He must *esse*, *be* the "husband of one wife. Neither find I fault with the doc-"tors, which change *be* into *hath been*, but such bishops "and priests as neither *be* nor *have been* married, nor will "marry to this day, must find some other exposition for "this text of St. Paul, or else cannot I see how they can "excuse themselves, but that they shall be found guilty by "this description and rule of a blameless bishop."

Answered by Martin.

In confutation of this book, Dr. Martyn undertook to answer three points. 1. Poynet's false expounding of the holy scriptures, touching priests' marriage. 2. His untrue interpretation of God's word, for the defence of married monks, nuns, and friars. 3. His falsely reporting the canons of the Apostles, untruly alleging sundry chronicles and histories, and most unhonestly slandering old writings, and the decrees of holy fathers. But Dr. Martyn was not Poynet's match, who sufficiently vindicated himself, soon after Martyn had set forth his book: and Archbishop Parker, under Queen Elizabeth, published a very learned manuscript, wrote in Queen Mary's reign, in answer likewise to Martyn; which was Poynet's. To which that Archbishop himself made very large and excellent additions: which are taken notice of by me elsewhere.

Life of Archbishop Parker.

Cheke sets forth translations.

The learned knight, Sir John Cheke, printed this year his translation of Chrysostom's homily, *Brethren, I would not have you ignorant*, &c.: printed by Tho. Berthelet. This knight also set forth a translation of the New Testament, in 4°.

BOOK II.

Anno 1552. Knox preaches at Newcastle.

John Knox, the earnest preacher, and one of the King's itineraries, was now in the north: and on Christmas day he preached at Newcastle upon Tyne. There he spake against the obstinacy of the Papists, and affirmed, "that "whosoever in his heart was enemy to Christ's gospel and "doctrine, which then was preached within the realm, was "enemy also to God, and secret traitor to the crown and "commonwealth of England. And that, as such, thirsted "after nothing more than the King's death, which their "iniquities would procure, he said, so they regarded not "who should reign over them, so that their idolatry might "be erected again." This, it seems, provoked many of his auditors extremely; insomuch that they began to raise trouble against him, and accused him to the magistrate; as appears by his *Admonition to the Professors of God's Truth in England*, printed in 1554. "How these my words at "that time pleased men, the crimes and actions intended "against me did declare." But then, Queen Mary being on the throne, and Philip of Spain made her husband, he
389 appealed to those expressions of his, reckoning it at that time as a thing commonly owned, that the people had made a very bad choice, when they took for that Queen a Spanish husband to reign over them. "Let my very enemies now "say their conscience, if those my words are not proved "true."

The King exchanges lands with the Lady Anne of Cleves.

The Lady Anne of Cleves, once King Henry's wife, but divorced, was still alive, living in England upon her dowry, and, as it seems, in good reputation. She had lands in Bisham, which were those, I suppose, formerly belonging to the monastery there; and at Blechingley, where she had a house, and sometimes dwelt. She seemed to be a lady of good behaviour, and of an obliging carriage; bearing a very friendly correspondence with the Lady Mary, as well as with the other ladies of the Court. She spoke, or at least writ, English very well, as appears by her letter underwritten: which she writ upon certain business happening between the Lady Mary and her, occasioned by a change of

lands the King made this year, both with her and with his sister. The lands which the Lady Anne parted with to him were those of Bisham: for which the King granted her Westrop in Suffolk, with the appendages: for the getting of which confirmed to her, she was fain to wait a great while. Of the Lady Mary likewise, this year, the King desired to have in exchange her manors of St. Osyth's, Claxton Magna and Parva, and Willeigh, all in Essex. The Lady Mary desired of the King, (in recompence for this change, I suppose,) those lands in Suffolk which he had given before to the Lady Anne. This occasioned the stop of the great seal, which, after long expectation, was going to pass for the Lady Anne. Whereupon she wrote this civil letter to the Lady Mary, which I have transcribed from the original of her own hand.

CHAP. XVIII.

Anno 1552.

"*To my Lady Mary's Grace.*

"Madam; After my most harty commendations unto "your Grace, being very desirous to hear of your prosper- "ous health; wherein I much do rejoice. It may please "you to be advertised, that it hath pleased the King's Ma- "jesty to have in exchange my manor and lands of Bysham "in the county of Berkshire: granting me, in recompence, "the house of Westrop in Suffolk, with the two parks, and "certain manors thereunto adjoining. Notwithstanding, if "it had been his Highness pleasure, I was well contented "to have continued without exchange. For which graunt, "for mine own assurance in that behalf, I have travailed, "to my great cost and charge, almost this twelve months: "and it hath passed the King's Majesty's bill signed, and "the privy seal, being now, as I am informed, stayed at the "great seal, for that you, Madam, be minded to have the "same, not knowing, as I suppose, of the said graunt. I "have also received at this Michaelmas last past, part of the "rent of the foresaid manors. Considering the premisses, "and for the amity which hath always been betwixt us, of "the which I most earnestly desire the continuance, that it "may please you therefore to ascertain me by your letters,

She writes to the Lady Mary. MSS. G. P. Arm.

BOOK II. Anno 1552. 390

"or otherwise, as it shall stand with your pleasure. And "thus, good Madam, I commit you unto the ever-living "God, to have you in merciful keeping. From my house "of Blychenley, the viii. day of January, A°. Dv^c LIII.

"Your assured lovyng friend, to her
"little power, to command,
"Anna, the dowghter of Cleves."

The lands granted her.

In the month of August before, I find the King gave this lady, in consideration of the surrender of Bisham, the manors of Brokeford and Thwaite in Suffolk, with divers other lands, (in which, I suppose, the aforesaid Westrop is comprised,) amounting to the yearly value of 67*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.*

Dr. Day explains his judgment about the altar.

Dr. Day, late bishop of Chichester, had been harboured now about half a year with the Bishop of Ely, lord chancellor, but under restraint. There Cecyl, the secretary, being one day entered into discourse with him about that same argument, which, about two years before, was the cause of his imprisonment and deprivation, *viz.* for disobeying an order of the King and Council, for taking altars out of the churches, and placing tables in their rooms, for the use of the holy communion. Day now, in his converse with the Secretary, shewed himself very moderate in that behalf, when, as it seems, he entreated him to stand his friend for the obtaining of his liberty: whereat the Secretary, who had favourably reported of him at Court, willed him soon after to write the communication that they had together. Day therefore, January 10, wrote him a letter to this purport: "That to treat of that argument could be no less unplea-"sant and dangerous unto him, than it would be to a mer-"chant to sail again in those seas wherein he had suffered "shipwreck before; yet he had gone about to accomplish "the Secretary's will and pleasure, and had devised with "himself, how and what he should write of that matter. "But he professed, in good truth, he could not tell what he "should write therein, otherwise than he had answered unto "the Lords of the Council, before he was committed to

prison, and afterward to the commissioners, at the time of his deprivation, *viz.* that he sticked not at the altar, either "at the usual form of the altar, or of the situation thereof, "or of the matter, stone or wood, whereof the altar was "made. And that he then took, as he did at present, those "things to be indifferent, and to be ordered by them that "had authority. But that the commandment which was "given him, to take down all altars within his diocese, and "in the lieu of them to set up a table, implying in itself, as "he took it, a plain abolishment of the altar, both the name "and the thing, from the use and ministration of the holy "communion, he could not with his conscience then exe-"cute, as he answered the Lords of the Council then, and "afterwards to the King's commissioners. And what he "should now answer further, he could not tell." But herein Day seemed not fairly to relate the matter: for the commissioners, finding him so much to insist upon retaining the name of altar, because he found it used in the old doctors, and, as he pretended, in the scripture too, told him, that touching the naming of the holy table an altar, it was indifferent, and left it so to him. He added, "that if the 391 "Secretary and Sir John Cheke would, in consideration of "the loss of his living, and two years' imprisonment, obtain "for him the liberty of a subject, if he should hereafter "abuse it, he would not desire to live; and he would pray "for the King's most excellent Majesty, and his most ho-"nourable Council, and them his deliverers. But that if "his liberty must be bought with a new conflict, and hazard "of his conscience, he thought it better to want it, than to "purchase so poor a commodity at so great a price."

Various commissions for raising of monies.

The King's debts pressing him, many commissions were this year, one upon the neck of another, sent forth, for the remedying thereof; the Council hoping thereby to raise great sums of money: whereby, no question, great numbers of people were sufficiently vexed, to the discontent and disturbance of the innocent, as well as the guilty. 1. One commission, in March last, was issued to certain persons, for the surveying of the state of all the King's courts erected for the

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

custody of the King's lands, and for the answering of his rents and revenues. 2. Another commission came forth in June, for the sale of chantry lands. 3. And in the same month were divers other commissions and instructions to peculiar persons in every shire, to view and survey the bells, plate, jewels, vestments, or ornaments belonging to every church; and to seize into their hands, to the King's use, such of the said goods as had been, at any time before the said survey, embezzled. 4. Another commission was directed to Clarencieux, the king at arms, to visit his province, that is, from the river Trent southward, that whosoever had taken into their cognizance, or arms, standards, or banners, any bearing contrary to the usage of the realm, knowledge thereof should be given to the King and Council; I suppose, to get fines that way also. 5. Another commission was issued out in December, to the Duke of Northumberland, and several other noblemen and knights, to examine all the treasurers, receivers, and officers whatsoever, of the Exchequer, of the Court of Augmentations, of the King's Chamber, of the First-fruits, of the Wards, of the duchy of Lancaster, of the town and marches of Calais, of the town and garrison of Berwick; and all other treasurers, which had been formerly, or were at present, from the 24th year of King Henry VIII. to that time, (that is, from the year 1532 to the year 1552, twenty years:) and also, all paymasters, surveyors, mustermasters, purveyors, victuallers, and the like, that had received of the King, or his father, any sums of money to be employed in the wars, buildings, fortifications, or other affairs. And if any should be found indebted to the King, to proceed with them for the due satisfaction thereof. 6. Another commission came forth the same month, to see how the King was satisfied as to lead, belmetal, plate, jewels, ornaments, stock, &c. coming to him from divers monasteries, priories, colleges, and chantries, or by attainder of divers persons, or by divers forfeits of jewels, silver bullion, plate, gold, and silver. 7. Yet another commission there was in January, to examine by record of chancery, or other ways, what sums of money were due to

the King at any time for sale of lands, since the 4th of February, 27th Henry VIII. (the year wherein the lesser monasteries were dissolved.) and how the same was answered. 8. Another yet came forth the same month, for the collection of church-stuff, plate, jewels, ornaments, &c. 9. In the month of February we hear of another commission for many, or all counties in England, to survey all manner of church goods. 10. And lastly, in March, when all this scraping would not get money enough for the King's necessities, came forth a commission to sell for ready money, as much of the King's manors and lands as should come to the value of 1000*l.* per annum. And there were other commissions of the same import, for sales, before this. And yet I find, that in February, before that commission was sealed, many considerable things were sold away from the crown; as the manor of Keverdly in Lancashire, and other lands; the manor of Bushton in Wilts, and divers other lands; the manor of Compton Basset in Wilts, the manor of Odicknol, and Chamleigh in Devon, the lordship of Otherey in Somersetshire, the tithes of the parish of Wrenbury in Cheshire, &c.

392

A commission to examine the executors of Sir William Bowyer, deceased.

Sir William Bowyer, an alderman of London, and lord mayor of the said city, anno 1544, dying in his mayoralty, left a fair estate, and five daughters to inherit; but appointed such executors and overseers, as seemed more willing to enrich themselves by the estate of the deceased, and defraud the children, than to discharge their trusts faithfully. Francis Chaloner married Agnes, one of the daughters: which Francis had much contest with the executors; and in the year 1552 obtained a commission for the just examination and determination of this matter. And about February, a commission was granted, at the suit of the said Francis, to three doctors of the Arches, and three sergeants of law, who were, Dr. May, dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Leyson, and Dr. Cook, Gawdy, Stamford, and Catlyn, to call before them the executors and overseers of the said Sir William Bowyer's will; "who," as the commission ran, "had de-"frauded Agnes, the daughter of the said William, and

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

"four other sisters, of their said father's legacies; which "were great sums of money, besides moveable goods and "jewels, which they had abused to their own lucre, and had "not only left out of the inventories, exhibited into the "prerogative court of the Arches, much of the goods and "jewels, but also had caused the same to be prized for "under their value: and, that is worse, had also caused the "same to be rased, and many parts to be cancelled: "whereby they had made the same very unperfect. Nor so "contented, had caused the hoped for and recuperable "debts to be put into the title of the *desperate* debts. And "among the debts, had put in many feigned sums of money "to be indebted by the deceased to them: and finally, had "extended the funeral expences to 200*l.* above the same ap-"pointed by the order of the city."

Bishop Ridley's ordinations.

The persons ordained this year by Ridley, bishop of London, were first, May 15, eleven deacons, all of them Fellows, or Masters of Art of Cambridge, and six priests. Again, at Bartholomew-tide, requesting licence to ordain of the Bishop of Ely, Ridley being then at Cambridge, in that Bishop's diocese, he ordained in Pembroke hall, his own college, Robert Kensey, M. A. Fellow of Trinity College, Vicar of Ware; and many others. Again, December 11, were seven deacons ordained: whereof one was aged forty, another thirty-seven, and another thirty-three. Again, December 21, were ordained three priests; William Harley
393 of Katharin Creechurch, London; William Turner, dean of Wells, and Robert Kensey, before mentioned.

Places and offices bestowed.

This year were these places and offices conferred by the King. In April, Ambrose Earl of Warwick, eldest son of the Duke of Northumberland, was made master of the King's horses, upon the Earl of Pembroke's surrender of that office: and to have 100 marks yearly. In the same month, the King appointed for his chief officers in the Mint within the Tower, Thomas Egerton, esq. treasurer of the Mint; Thomas Stanley, comptroller: William Billingsley, assaymaster; John Munds, provost. And Sir John Godsalve, who had been before comptroller, in regard of his

surrender, had an annuity of 60*l.* And to Sir Nich. Throgmorton, late one of the treasurers of the coin of the said Mint, was granted an annuity of 100*l.* for his surrender and his faithful service. In May, Sir Edward Bray had the grant of the constableship of the Tower in reversion, after the death of Sir John Gage, by the fee of 50*l.* per annum. In June, Sir Roger Cholmely was constituted lord chief justice of England; Henry Bradshaw, chief baron of the Exchequer: Edmund Griffith was made attorney-general of all the Courts of Record within England; and John Gosnold solicitor-general. In the same month, the Lord Robert Dudley, another of the Duke of Northumberland's sons, was made master of the buck-hounds, with the yearly fee of 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* upon surrender of the same by the Earl of Warwick, his brother. In September Sir John Cheke, knt. and one of the privy chamber, obtained a patent to be one of the chamberlains of the Exchequer, or of the receipt of the Exchequer; once belonging to Sir Anthony Wyngfield, deceased: and also to appoint the keeper of the door of the said receipt, and of all other officers belonging to the same. Dr. Nicolls had a patent for an annuity of 10*l.* and a licence to take the bodies of prisoners, both men and women, after their execution, [for dissecting.] He was, I suppose, constituted the King's chirurgeon. As the year before, John Hemingway had the office of being the King's apothecary given him; and a fee of 40 marks yearly. And in February the abovesaid Lord Robert Dudley had the office *capitalis trenchiatoris*, [chief carver,] upon the surrender of the Duke his father's patent for the same place, granted him by King Henry VIII. to have to the said Robert for term of life, with the fee of 50*l.* yearly. This place the said Lord Robert had executed from the feast of St. Michael.

BOOK II.

CHAP. XIX.

Anno 1552. 394

A Parliament. The King's letters to the Sheriffs. Bishopric of Durham dissolved. A general pardon. Certain excepted. The King removes to Greenwich. Knox's last sermon at Court. Summoned before the Council. Earls of Pembroke and Westmorland. Sir Andrew Dudley. Sir John Williams. Melancthon. North-east passage. Archbishop Holgate.

The King's care for an able Parliament.

TOWARDS the conclusion of the year, the King called a new Parliament. And now beginning to set himself, as his years came on, to mind business, he intended to have an house composed of men of great and good abilities, to consult withal in the present affairs and difficulties of his kingdom. Therefore, after he had sent out a warrant, Jan. 18, to the Lord Chancellor, to direct forth process for the summoning of a Parliament the 1st of March next, he caused his letters to be wrote in January to the sheriffs of each county, that they should diligently give notice to the citizens, and burgesses, and freeholders of every county, that it was the King's will they should choose and send up to him, as much as possibly they might, men of knowledge and experience, that so the needs of the State might be more effectually provided for than heretofore had been. And that where any of his privy counsellors should recommend men of learning and wisdom, to have regard to their direction, as tending to the same. The letter was as followeth:

The King's letter to the sheriffs for parliament men.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Forasmuch as we have, for divers good considerations, caused a summonition for a Parliament to be made, as we doubt not but ye understand the same by our writs sent in that behalf unto you; we have thought it meet, for the furtherance of such causes as are to be propounded in the said Parliament, for the common weal of our realm, that in the election of such persons as shall be sent to the Parliament, either from our counties, as knights thereof, or from our cities and boroughs, there be good regard had, that the choice be made of men of gravity and knowledge

"in their own countries and towns, fit, for their understand-
"ing and qualities, to be in such a great council. And
"therefore, since some part of the proceeding herein shall
"rest in you, by virtue of your office, we do, for the great
"desire we have that this our Parliament may be assem-
"bled with personages out of every country, of wisdom
"and experience, at this present will and command you,
"that ye shall give notice, as well to the freeholders of
"your county, as to the citizens and burgesses of any city
"or borough, which shall have any of our writs, by your di-
"rection, for the election of citizens and burgesses, that our 395
"pleasure and commandment is, that they shall choose and
"appoint (as nigh as they possibly may) men of knowledge
"and experience, within the counties, cities, and boroughs:
"so as by the assembly of such, we may, by God's good-
"ness, provide (thorough the advice and knowledge of the
"said Parliament) for the redress of the lacks in our com-
"monweal, more effectually than heretofore hath been.
"And yet, nevertheless, our pleasure is, that where our
"Privy Council, or any of them, within their jurisdictions,
"in our behalf, shall recommend men of learning and wis-
"dom; in such case their directions be regarded and fol-
"lowed, as tending to the same which we desire; that is,
"to have this assembly to be of the most chiefest men in
"our realm for advice and good counsel."

Persons nominated for knights of the shire.

Letters also were sent in January from the King to some of the high sheriffs, recommending therein persons to them to be elected knights: as one to the sheriff of Hampshire, for the electing of Sir Richard Cotton to be one of the knights for that shire. The like letter to the sheriff of Suffolk, for the electing of Sir William Drury and Sir Henry Benningfield, knights, for the next Parliament. Another to the sheriff of Bedfordshire, in commendation of Sir John St. John, knight, and Lewis Dyve, esq. To the Sheriff of Surrey, in commendation of Sir Thomas Cavarden, knight, and John Vaughan, esq. To the sheriff of Cambridge, for Sir Edward North and James Dyve, esq. To the sheriff of Berks, for Sir William Fitzwilliams and Sir Henry Ne-

BOOK II.

Anno 1562.

vyl. To the sheriff of Oxon, for Sir John Williams and Richard Fines, esq. To the sheriff of Northamptonshire, for Sir Nicolas Throgmorton and Robert Lane, esq. And no more were recommended by the King's letters. And these were such as belonged to the Court, or were in place of trust about the King.

Dissolution of the bishopric of Durham.

This Parliament began to sit March 1, and ended March the last, in the seventh year of the King. Then was a private act made for denizing the children of Richard Hills, an eminent merchant abroad; and another for restitution of Edward Seimour, knight, eldest son to the late Duke of Somerset. And the third and last private act was for the dissolution of the bishopric of Durham; that so the courtiers, (however well the King meant it, *viz.* for the founding two bishoprics out of it,) as if they had not enough humbled the Church, might have a few more good fleeces from her. But he that had the greatest expectation from this dissolved bishopric, namely, the Duke of Northumberland, was sadly disappointed, and instead of gaining the good revenue thereof, lost his own head, and his possessions beside, within less than half a year after. These were sudden counsels, and carried with a strong hand; for but in November last, a grant was made of this bishopric to Robert Horn, D. D. the dean of that church.

Durham made a county palatine.

For it was soon after this dissolution of the bishopric, namely, in April, that Durham was changed into a county palatine, and so to continue from thenceforth by letters patents: wherein was set down the constitution thereof, and the number of judges, officers, and ministers were appointed, requisite to supply the same; and to have a great seal and privy seal; and to be united to the imperial crown of the realm. And this new county palatine was, I suppose,
396 to add a new title to the ambitious Duke of Northumberland, *viz.* Earl of Durham. I find the demeans of this dissolved bishopric began soon to be dispersed. For in May the fee-farm of the lordship, manor, town, and borough of Gateshead, late parcel of the possessions of that bishopric, were granted to the mayor and burgesses of Newcastle.

And in June the capital messuage of Coldharborough in Thames-street, London, lately belonging to the said bishopric, was given to the Earl of Shrewsbury. CHAP. XIX. Anno 1552.

The King concluded this Parliament with a general pardon. Out of which were these persons following excepted: Cardinal Pole, Jeffrey Pole, [brother, unless I mistake, to the Cardinal, some of whose name, *viz.* Arthur and Edmund, were in a plot afterwards against Queen Elizabeth, and pardoned.] Richard Pate, [once Bishop of Worcester, and was at the Council of Trent; and so shall be again under Queen Mary, and who fled abroad again under Queen Elizabeth.] Goldwel, [servant to Cardinal Pole, and under Queen Mary made bishop of St. Asaph, and fled abroad again under Queen Elizabeth, and abode at Rome.] John Clement, [doctor of physic, and that had been schoolmaster to Sir Thomas More's children. In More's epistle to Petrus Ægidius of Antwerp, he called this Clement, *puer*, *i. e.* his servant; "whom, he said, he suffered not to be "away from any discourse, whence he might reap some "benefit or advantage. For from this young bladed and "new shot up grain, which had already begun to spring up "in Greek and Latin learning, he looked for, he said, a "plentiful increase, at length, of goodly ripe corn." This Clement was constituted by Cardinal Wolsey his rhetoric and Greek reader.] John Story, doctor of law, [that was under Queen Mary a great man, and very zealous in the office of examining and butchering the poor Protestants; but his end was the death of a traitor under Queen Elizabeth.] William Rastal, [who was the son of John Rastal, a learned man, and a printer, who married Sir Thomas More's sister. This William, nephew to Sir Thomas, was of Lincoln's Inn, went beyond sea under King Edward, and abode at Lovain. Under Queen Mary he returned, and was made one of the Justices of the Common Pleas. This man wrote several books of the law. Under Queen Elizabeth, he fled to Lovain again, and there died. This William Rastal married John Clement's daughter.] Three Italians also, *viz.* Anthony Bonvice, Benedict Bonvice, and

Persons excepted out of the general pardon.

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

Balthazar Guarsey: [this Balthazar, I take to be once of Canterbury, and very busy in collecting accusations against good Archbishop Cranmer, about that time under King Henry VIII. when Bishop Gardiner, and several of the prebendaries, and others of the church of Canterbury, had conspired to ruin him.] Germain Seo, Edmund and Thomas Craifford, Thomas Finch, Thomas Raynolds of Whitstaple in the county of Kent; and another Thomas Raynolds, related probably to Raynolds, the monk of Sion, that was executed under King Henry for refusing the supremacy; and lastly, William Bedel. Many of these were concerned with Cardinal Pole, and others denied the supremacy; and some were concerned with the holy maid of Kent.

Ambassadors.

This March were Dr. Wotton and Sir Thomas Chaloner sent to the French King: and Sir Philip Hoby sent to the Emperor: and so was also Thirlby, bishop of Norwich. Hoby was to be ledger there, in Sir Richard Morison's
397 room, now coming home. To whom there was a letter sent, April 1, to deliver to Sir Philip Hoby, sent ambassador to the Emperor, by bill indebted, all such plate as he received when he entered into that charge.

Testons still go in York.

In York, and those northern parts, the testons still passed for sixpence; but about April a design was in hand to take them down to a groat. An inkling of which going about, every body ran in with their testons to the mint in York, and paid them in there. Whereupon grew this inconvenience, that all commodities began to rise much, and a great scarcity of money followed. Wherefore to remedy this dearth, the Council in the north was fain to procure some to be punished, that sold at unreasonable and prohibited prices.

The King's last remove to Greenwich.

The King, for his health's sake, as it seems, and to enjoy the country air, removed, April 11, from Westminster by water to Greenwich. As he passed by the Tower, he was presented with a great shot of guns and chambers: and all the ships shot off their guns all the way to Ratcliff; and so did the three ships that were riding there, appointed to go

to Newfound Land, and the two pinnaces that were to accompany them. And this was the last remove of the good King.

CHAP. XIX.

Anno 1552.

April 17, came a command down to London, that all the churchwardens of London should repair unto Guildhall, and appear before the King's commissioners, the Bishop of London, and the Lord Mayor, and Cholmely, lord chief justice; and bring with them a true certificate of all church goods, plate, money, bells, and of all copes and ornaments that pertained to each church. For the sacrilegious hunger of the courtiers was not yet satiated.

A certificate of church goods in London to be brought in.

Knox, it seems, upon the displeasure taken against him in Newcastle, as was said before, soon after returned to London, and being in good reputation with the King, and some of the Council, for his zealous preaching against the errors of Rome, and the vices of the time, he was appointed to preach before the King and his Council at Westminster, a little before his Majesty departed thence. And his sermon, being the last he preached before his Majesty, he suited to the Court as it now stood; wherein the main governing men, and who carried all the stroke, were mere temporizers, and secretly well-wishers to the old religion, and shewing little zeal for the present establishment of the Church, any further than the national laws absolutely required: and so they outwardly complied, but craftily concealed their inward judgments, for the accomplishing their worldly ends and interests. These were the men now chiefly about the King. There were two especially ruled all in the Court, the Duke of Northumberland, by stout courage and proudness of stomach, and the Marquis of Winchester, the treasurer, by counsel and wit. This was well enough observed by the good sort: and bold Knox, being new to preach at Court, was resolved to speak his mind, and reprove them, even to their faces. And for that purpose, took his text in Psalm xl. *He that eateth bread with me, hath lift up his heel against me.* This sermon he spake of afterwards, in his Faithful Admonition; where he was mentioning how the Papists, with their craft, wrought all mis-

Knox preaches his last sermon at Court.

BOOK II. chief in King Edward's reign, being such as bore authority and rule. "And who, I pray," said he, "ruled the roast in
Anno 1552. "the Court all this time, by stout courage and proudness "of stomach, but Northumberland? And who, I pray you,
398 "ruled all by counsel and wit? Shall I name the man? I "will write no more plainly now than my tongue spake the "last sermon that it pleased God that I should make be-"fore that innocent and most godly King Edward VI. and "before the Council at Westminster, and even to the faces "of such," &c.

By occasion of the foresaid text, he made this affirmation, "That commonly it is seen, that the most godly princes "had officers and chief counsellors most ungodly, conjured "enemies to God's true religion, and traitors to their "princes: and that their wickedness and ungodliness was "speedily perceived and espied out of the said princes "and godly men: but that for a time those crafty colours "could so cloak their malice against God and his truth, "and their hollow hearts towards their loving masters, that, "by worldly wisdom and policy, at length they attained to "high promotions." And for the proof of this his affirmation, he recited the histories of Achitophel, and Shebna, and Judas. Of whom the two former had high offices and promotions, with great authority, under the most godly princes David and Ezekias; and Judas was purse-master with Christ Jesus. And when he had made some discourse in that matter, he moved this question, "Why so godly "princes permitted so wicked men to be upon their coun-"cil, and to bear office and authority under them?" To which he answered, "That either they so abounded in "worldly wisdom, foresight, and experience, touching the "government of a commonwealth, that their counsel ap-"peared to be so necessary, that the commonwealth could "not lack them, and so by the colour to preserve the tran-"quillity and quietness in realms, they were maintained in "authority; or else they kept their malice, which they "bare towards their masters and God's true religion, so "secret in their breasts, that no man could espy it, till by

CHAP. XIX.

Anno 1552.

"God's permission they waited for such occasion and opportunity, that they uttered all their mischief so plainly, "that all the world might perceive it. And that was most "evident by Achitophel and Shebna. For of Achitophel 1 Reg. 15, 16. "it is written, that he was David's most secret counsellor; "and that because his counsel in those days was like the "oracle of God. And Shebna was unto good King Ezekias Esa. xxii. 36. "sometime comptroller, sometime secretary, and last of all "treasurer. To the which offices he had never been promoted under so godly a prince, if the treason and malice "which he bare against the King, and against God's true "religion, had been manifestly known. No," said he, "Sobna was a crafty fox, and could shew such a fair countenance to the King, that neither he nor his council "could espy his malicious treason. But the prophet Esaias "was commanded by God to go to his presence, and to declare his traitorous heart and miserable end.

"Were David," said he, "and Ezekias, princes of great "and godly gifts and experience, abused by crafty counsellors and dissembling hypocrites? What wonder is it "then, that a young and innocent King be deceived by "crafty, covetous, wicked, and ungodly counsellors? I am "greatly afraid that Achitophel be counsellor, that Judas "bear the purse, and that Sobna be scribe, comptroller, "and treasurer." This he said, and somewhat more he spake that day, not in a corner, but even before those whom his conscience judged worthy of accusation. He said, that since that time they had declared themselves more manifestly, namely, under the Queen. He affirmed, that under that innocent King, pestilent Papists had 399 greatest authority. "Oh! who was judged to be the soul "and life to the Council in every matter of weighty importance? Who but Sobna? Who was most frank and "ready to destroy Somerset, and set up Northumberland? "Was it not Sobna? Who was most bold to cry, Bastard, "bastard; incestuous bastard Mary shall never reign over "us? And who, I pray, was most busy to say, Fear not "to subscribe with my Lords of the King's Majesty's most

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

"honourable Privy Council: agree to his Grace's last will "and perfect testament. And let never that obstinate woman come to authority. She is an errant Papist. She will "subvert the true religion, and will bring in strangers, to "the destruction of this commonwealth. Which of the "Council, I say, had these, and greater persuasions against "Mary, to whom now he crouches and kneeleth? Sobna "the treasurer. And what intended such traitorous and "dissembling hypocrites by all these and such like crafty "slights and counterfeit conveyance? Doubtless the overthrow of Christ's true religion, which then began to "flourish in England." Thus he wrote concerning his sermon.

Knox will not accept a living.

But notwithstanding the piercing glances thereof upon some of the great men, it was, as near as I can guess, about this time, that the Council sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury to bestow the living of Alhallows upon Mr. Knox. But when it was offered him, he refused it, not caring to be bound to use all King Edward's book. And Sampson, and after him Saunders, (afterwards a martyr,) were collated to the said parish. April 14, Knox was called before the Council: who demanded of him three questions. 1. Why he refused the benefice provided for him in London? To which he answered, that his conscience did witness, that he might profit more in some other place than in London. And therefore had no pleasure to accept any office there: but he might have answered, that he refused that parsonage, because of Northumberland's contrary command; who designed it, perhaps, for him that succeeded into it, namely, Sampson. 2. Whether he thought that no Christian might serve in the ecclesiastical ministration according to the rites and laws of the realm of England? To which he said, that many things at that time were worthy of reformation in the ministry of England; without the reformation whereof, no minister did or could discharge his conscience before God. For no ministers in England had authority to separate the lepers from the heal: (*i. e.* the whole or sound; that is, they had not the full power of excommunication:)

The Council summon him before them to know the cause.

which was, he said, a chief point of his office. 3. They asked him, if kneeling at the Lord's table was not indifferent? He answered, that Christ's action was most perfect: and that it was most sure to follow his example: and that kneeling was man's addition and invention. About this last question, there was great contention between the Lords of the Council and him. There were then present, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer; the Bishop of Ely, Goodrich; Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Earls of Bedford, Northampton, Shrewsbury, the Lord Chamberlain, and both the Secretaries. After long reasoning, it was said to him, he was not called of any ill meaning, and that they were sorry to know him of a contrary mind to the common order. He answered, he was sorry the common order was contrary to Christ's institution. He was dismissed, with some gentle speeches, and willed him to advise with himself, if he would communicate according to that order. All this above is collected from a letter of Knox's own writing.

CHAP. XIX.

Anno 1552.

400

Knox in Bucks.

Now Knox seems to have gone into the parts of Buckinghamshire, and that in his itinerary course of preaching. In some places in this circuit, and particularly at Amersham, he took a liking, partly for their forwardness to hear him, and partly for their civilities towards him. In these, therefore, and such like places, he would tarry somewhat longer than in others, where he could not find so much delight; and there, and elsewhere, sometime allow himself recreation. But this was afterwards a trouble to him, as reckoning himself to have been guilty of too much indulgence to himself, and of too little regard of the need that other people stood in, of having the gospel preached to them: and he blamed himself, "that he had not been an in-"different feeder, as was required of Christ's stewards. For "in preaching Christ's gospel," said he, "albeit my eye, as "God knoweth, was not much upon worldly promotion; "yet the love of friends, and carnal affection of some men, "with whom I was most familiar, allured me to make more "residence in one place than in another; having more re-

Faithful Admonition.

Anno 1552.

"spect to the pleasure of a few, than to the necessity of "many. That day I thought I had not sinned, if I had "not been idle. But this day I know it was my duty to "have had consideration, how long I had remained in one "place, and how many hungry souls were in other places, "to whom, alas! none took pains to break and distribute "the bread of life. Moreover, remaining in one place, I "was not so diligent as mine office required, but sometime "by counsel of carnal friends, I spared the body: some "time I spent in worldly business of particular friends; "and some time in taking recreation and pastime, by exer-"cise of my body." This I the rather set down, that you may see one of the King's itineraries in his office.

But leaving Knox, we shall make some remembrances of other men of note, as they occasionally about this time offer us matter to relate of them.

Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, now grew great, having been lately advanced from a commoner to a nobleman, specially since the conspiracy of the Duke of Somerset, wherein it was pretended, that he, together with the Duke of Northumberland, and the Marquis of Northampton, his brother-in-law, should have been assassinated: whereby he became linked in with those two overtopping men. He was made president of the Council for the marches of Wales in 1552. And in this last year of the King, he made two great purchases of lands and lordships from the crown, which cost him upwards of 1800*l.* He was made the first and chief of a commission to view and survey all church goods, plate, furniture, &c. belonging to any church, chapel, or guild, in the county of Chester. The King also bestowed upon him the office of keeping the forests and parks of Claringdon, Pauncet, Buckholt, and Melthurst, in Wilts; to him and his son for their lives. And he obtained, as of the King's gift, the manor of Dunyate in Somersetshire, with other lands and possessions.

401 Westmorland pardoned and rewarded.

Henry Nevyl was Earl of Westmorland in this reign, a person of ancient nobility, but of a tainted life and blemished manners. In the year 1551 he conspired to have

robbed the King's treasure at Middleham, where his Majesty had considerable revenues. He endeavoured also to rob his mother: and sold land to the value of 200*l.* per annum, either lavished away in prodigality, or to carry on a treason. And to please the people, he intended to set forth a proclamation for the raising of coin to its former value, which, being of a baser alloy, had been lately cried down, by the King's order, that money might come to a truer standard. These things Horn, dean of Durham, had discovered against him in October 1552: but was bid to keep the matter close. Whatever punishment this Earl underwent, in the beginning of April 1553, by the means, I suppose, of Northumberland, who grew formidably great in the northern parts, to gain this northern nobleman, had great favour shewn him. For he had a pardon of all treasons, little and great, misprision of treason, &c. committed before the 20th of March last; and soon after, in the same month, the King gave him the manors of Kenton, Liston, Chetecomb, Baseby, Stow, and Deping, and other lands in the counties of Devon and Lincoln. To whom they were before entailed: to him and the heirs of his body. And in the month following, commission came to the Earl of Huntingdon and Sir Andrew Dudley, knights of the order, to admit and install the said Westmorland into the said order.

CHAP. XIX.

Anno 1552.

Sir Andrew Dudley and Lord Darcy taken into the order.

Which Sir Andrew, of late risen exceedingly, as well as the Lord Chamberlain, (*viz.* the Lord Darcy,) had been both lately admitted into the said order. And in April the King gave them both, out of his wardrobe, eighteen yards of crimson velvet, for the livery of the said order of the Garter, and ten yards apiece of white sarcenet, or taffeta, to line it. Dudley succeeded the Lord Paget, who, upon pretence of defect of blood and arms for three descents, had been before deprived of the Garter ignominiously. But the *Liber cæruleus*, in the registry of the knights kept at Windsor, observed, it was not so much those causes, as the prevalence and practice of the Duke of Northumberland, by which he had been unjustly and undeservedly put off the order. But Sir John Hayward, as also Stow, are mis-

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

taken, when they write, that the George and Garter were forthwith bestowed upon the Earl of Warwick, that Duke's eldest son; when indeed it was not bestowed upon the son of the said Duke, but upon Sir Andrew, his brother, as was shewn before.

Sir John Williams master of the jewels.

Sir John Williams, who was master of the jewel-house, and now discharged in May, gave up his accounts, and was cleared of the sum of 16,667*l.* This gentleman was under Queen Mary created Lord Williams of Thame, and made lord chamberlain of the household to King Philip.

A letter to Melancthon.

Had not the King died so soon, the moderate, learned, and wise Melancthon would have come into England, and been placed in the University of Cambridge. For in this month of May, a letter in Latin was sent to him from the King, signifying, that the King had elected him to supply that place which Martin Bucer, deceased, had in that University. And June 6 following, a warrant was issued to the Treasurer of the Augmentations, to deliver to the Arch-
402 bishop of Canterbury 50*l.* to be sent over the seas by him, for the expences of the same learned man coming to the King's presence.

The adventure of the north-east passage.

In this month of May did the King grant letters of commendation, or safe conduct, for the three ships that were enterprising that noble adventure of seeking for a passage into the eastern parts of the world through the unknown and dangerous seas of the north. Of this expedition Sebastian Gabato, an excellent mariner of Bristow, but of Italian parentage, was a great mover, to whom the King, as a gratuity, had given 200*l.* For this voyage, in February last, the King lent two ships, the Primrose, and the Moon, a pinnace, to Barns, lord mayor of London, Garret, one of the sheriffs, York and Windham, adventurers, binding themselves to deliver to the King two ships of the like burden and good condition, in Midsummer, anno 1554. Sir Hugh Willoughby, a brave knight, was the chief captain in this enterprise: to whom the King granted a passport to go beyond the seas, with four servants, 40*l.* in money, his chain, &c. The letters of safe conduct were wrote in Latin,

to all kings, princes, and other states, being three in number, for each ship one: and three others of the same effect were writ in Hebrew, and three others in the Chaldee tongue: to suit with the language of the eastern countries, when they should arrive in those parts of the world. But the voyage proved unfortunate, by reason of the ice and storms in the north parts; though so much was gained, to the great advantage of the nation, that by it the country of Russia was better known, and a trade with it then first discovered.

Archbishop Holgate purchaseth Scroby.

In this month of May did Holgate, archbishop of York, the only wealthy bishop then in England, bestow some part of his wealth very commendably, for the benefit of his successors in that see. For he made purchase from the King of the scite, circuit, and precincts, capital messuage and mansion, lordship and manor of Scroby in Scroby, with the appurtenances, in the county of Nottingham, lately parcel of the possessions of the Archbishop of York: which premises were extended to the yearly value of 37*l.* 8*s.* 5½*d.* above all reprises and allocations. To have the premises to the Archbishop and Barbara his wife, during the life of the Archbishop and of Barbara, and either of them, living longest, with impetition of waste during the life of the said Archbishop; and after the departure of the Archbishop and his wife, then to his successors, Archbishops of York, for ever. To hold of the King, and his successors, in free soccage; which was purchased by him for the sum of 630*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* May 27.

Ambassadors from England.

Mr. Sheres was in this foresaid month of May sent ambassador to the King of the Romans; and to Maximilian King of Boeme; and about the same time, Florentius de Diaceto to the King of Denmark.

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

403

CHAP. XX.

A design to enter into league with the Protestant princes. The present condition of the Emperor. The embassy to him from England. Letters from the English ambassadors, concerning the affairs of the Low Countries.

BUT now to turn ourselves to the King's concerns with his two neighbour princes.

Ambassadors abroad.

This year England had Sir Thomas Chamberlain ambassador with the Regent, the Bishop of Norwich, Sir Richard Morison, and Sir Philip Hoby, ambassadors with the Emperor: who laboured the confirming of the amity with England, and did sincerely favour him against the French; though more privily, because of the peace with France: where our ambassadors were, Dr. Wotton, Sir William Pickering, and Sir Thomas Chaloner: whose office was, to mediate a peace between that King and the Emperor. Now because we have no history extant, as I know of, that gives any sufficient account of these concertations, but are very defective, nay, say nothing at all thereof, therefore I will, by the help of the letters of these ambassadors, and of the Council to them, declare this at some more length.

A design to enter into a league with the Protestant princes.

It must be known, that a great intrigue now driving on by these ambassadors with the Emperor was, to open a door to strike a league with the Protestant princes of Germany: and it was left to the discretion of the ambassadors, to take their opportunity to move the matter. They sent letters, April 28, to the Council, being an answer to letters that had been before sent from the Council to them: therein they signified, that as yet there had been no good opportunity to utter, especially in those parts, any piece of the matter of the Council's letters, until more time and further intelligence might give light for the manner and order of entry. By the next letters of the Lords, wrote May 5, they ordered the ambassadors to forbear to say or do any thing therein; that is, for entry of any practices touching the league, whereof they wrote before. Yet it was their will,

that the said ambassadors should devise, both with Mr. Mason, the English agent at Strasburgh, at his coming to them, and by all other ways, to understand as much as they might, in all things mentioned in their former letters; and especially to consider this one point, *viz.* with what princes of Germany, in what degrees, and after what sort, it were best to enter and break first, when the King, upon further intelligence and occasion, should think good to proceed further in this matter. And in these points they desired to understand the ambassadors opinions, who had all three great and long experience of those princes, and had been privy, as they thought, with what commissions, and under what sort, the covenants had passed heretofore with the princes of Germany, both in the league for the defence of the Low Countries, and in some other like considerations made in those parties in times past.

CHAP. XX.

Anno 1552.

404 Instructions in case of the Emperor's death.

The Emperor still remained very sickly, and in more likelihood to die than to live. In case of whose mortality and departure, the Council instructed the ambassadors, that it was the King's pleasure, that they should use such words of lamentation as might seem meet; and to declare to the Regent, that considering, that by the said Emperor's death the end of their embassy was come, and their commission expired, he, the Bishop of Norwich, and he, Sir Richard Morison, were minded to take their leaves, and to make their returns to the King's presence; and he, Sir Philip Hoby, according to his Majesty's letters, of late written to the Regent for that purpose, did mind to make his abode and continuance in those parts, to attend upon her the said Regent, according to the charge committed unto him.

The Emperor besieges Therwin.

The Emperor's party were, this April and May, besieging Therwin, but with no great hope of success; any more than there was in the latter end of the last year, when the Emperor besieged Metz, and was forced to raise the siege. He was now greatly distressed for money: for his subjects of the Low Countries shunk back, and made terms, in case a tax were levied upon them; and the bankers refused to lend any more. For, as Chamberlain wrote to the Lords, that for the last demand from Holland, the people stood with the

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

President there residing, desiring, that if they should yield thereunto, they might be unburdened of an impost of toll upon the hundred, put upon them for all fish and merchandise, since the beginning of these wars, towards the furnishing of a navy of ships, which, they were made believe, the Emperor would find upon the same, for a sure convoy of their merchants' ships between this and Spain, from time to time. And instead of such a navy, they were compelled to double man their own ships, and double furnish the same with ordnance, at their own cost, and not to depart till thirty or forty ships were ready together: and yet was the impost, nevertheless, gathered of them. So that they standing hereupon, the President wrote to the Regent, that he could not induce them to condescend, otherwise than with promise to take away the said impost. Finally, it was known that the Regent wrote to the President, that if he could do no better, he should promise as much as they asked; which should be performed as other the like had been.

The people of the Low Countries murmur.

The people did murmur, and thought that money already given illy bestowed; and had no better hope of the enterprise upon Therwin, than they had of Metz. When they were required for this last grant, one of the presidents, to allure them to condescend, was commanded to shew unto divers, certain accounts of the charges of the last year; that it might appear how much the last did amount unto, and yet was not enough by a great deal, and that Cesar should yet be in debt unto divers persons, five or six millions. It was reported, that among the rest, one gentleman of Holland said merrily to the President, "What shall it "boot me to see the accounts, seeing I do know, that if "there be not enough, more will be asked; and being too "much, none shall be restored?"

Money very difficult to be raised.

The nobles, the abbots, and others of the clergy, did sit still with the commons, devising upon the easy levying of this last grant in Brabant; which they could not levy upon meat and drink, as they were wont, there being already so many new imposts and gabels, beside the ordinary excise, as the poor commons were not able, and worse
405 willing, to bear it; so that as yet they could not agree; and

the money was unready when Cesar had present need thereof.

CHAP. XX.

Anno 1552.

The merchants in Antwerp will not lend any more.

The Fuggars, and other merchants in Antwerp, would lend no more upon interest, until the old were paid; which some men merchants did exclaim for, being not able otherwise to pay their debts: but naught could they get, and yet still more was craved of them. The Fuggars would lend no more at interest, but by exchange; whereby they meant, both to make more gain, and also to stand in more surety of their payment. For that delivering money here by exchange, they would drive the Prince to seek out another merchant, that might promise them payment in Spain or Italy: and so thought themselves better able to obtain the payment of others, merchants, as they themselves were, than there of Cesar's receivers; whose bills, and none other, they were wont to have for their money.

The people that lent money wronged.

The people found themselves shrewdly wronged: for where the last year they disbursed their ready money to receive yearly rents upon the demeans of these countries, when the year came, that they looked for payment, they were half paid, and forced to tarry until the end of the second year: and then they looked for as little, by reason all the demeans, and other things there, were set to pledge, and the money faster spent than it was gathered.

The cause of this scarceness of money.

The cause of this scarceness of money did proceed from the great mistrust that now went of the merchants' weakness, stepping daily aside: so that the gentlemen, burgesses, widows, and others of those countries, that were wont to put forth such money in banks, as they did spare to spend of their yearly revenues and other gains, did now think better to keep it in coffers, without gains, than to put it in hucksters' hands, and lose the principal.

The English ambassadors' audience with the Regent.

The Emperor's own condition was now, in April, such, that he kept himself close, and gave no audience to any man, nor was seen abroad. The reason whereof was thought to be, that the despite of his ill successes had bred in him a melancholic humour, not much differing from a phrensy: so that the English ambassadors (who came for confirmation

BOOK II. of the amity, and to offer a mediation for peace between the Emperor and France) remained as yet without access to

Anno 1552. his presence. Of this want of admission, the said ambassadors informed the Lords; who authorized them, for lack of access to the Emperor's own person, to declare unto the Regent, his sister, the effect of their ambassage. Whereupon they agreed, that Sir Richard Morison should repair to Monsieur de Arras, to have audience spoken for accordingly. The said Arras said, he would declare it to the Emperor; assuring him, that if the Emperor had been in any ability to have given them audience himself, they had not been thus long delayed. And because they should not think the time long, he therefore sent his secretary B. unto them, to pray them to resort unto the Regent: which, Arras said, proceeded only of the Emperor's debility; for had he been in case able to have given them audience, they should most thankfully have been received by him. After this D'Arras sent the secretary unto them, to tell them, he declared this matter to the Emperor, who took it in very good part, and was determined nevertheless, within two or three days, to give them audience himself, if he were able. It was

406 May 7, in the morning, when two of the Emperor's Council came to them, telling them, that the Queen was ready to give them audience: with whom they repaired unto her presence, and there declared the effect of their message, according to their instructions; and withal delivered unto her, first her own letters, and afterwards the Emperor's letters: praying her, that like as she had always shewed herself an augmenter of amity between the King's Majesty and her brother the Emperor, so she would now do what good in her lay, to the furtherance of the King's Majesty's godly intent and purpose, as well to the honour of both Princes, as to the profit of the universal state of Christendom. Whereunto she made as gracious and loving answers as might be desired; promising continuance of her good-will towards that amity, which she knew the Emperor tendered much; and that for the rest, she would declare it to the Emperor, and let them know his mind therein, as shortly as might be, not

doubting but that they should be answered to their contentation.

CHAP. XX.

Anno 1552.

After having paused a little, they further declared unto her, that like as the King's Majesty had sent them thither unto the Emperor for that good intent, even so had the King sent the like ambassadors to the French King, with commandment to do their best: and as matters might grow to any good purpose, so to advertise them [the ambassadors with the Emperor] of it; offering themselves to employ their utmost diligence to do good in this behalf: which the Regent accepted most thankfully.

Talk between D'Arras and the ambassadors.

After this audience with the said Queen, (which was at Brussels,) on May 10, Mons. d'Arras came to the ambassadors' lodgings to visit them; and after much courtesy and gentle words, they fell in talk of the state of their army at Therwin, and out of that, into a discourse of the peace: wherein D'Arras said, that the Queen deferred their answer only, for that the Emperor was desirous to make them answer himself. And further, said he, "Whereas you require to understand the occasions of these wars, the "Emperor knoweth none other cause, but the French "King's ambition: who hath taken the Emperor's ships at "Barcelona, spoiled his merchants upon those seas, stirred "his subjects against the Emperor, and taken towns be-"longing to the empire: which was both begun and done, "when his ambassador did affirm and swear, that his master "the French King meant nothing but good peace." Then speaking of the high and unreasonable demands the French intended to make, in order to peace, he added, that these were rather the means to irritate them that were already pricked; and that the mediators should do their best to stay those demands. "Nay," said Sir Richard Morison, "it may be, for saving their honour in speaking first, they "will demand unreasonable things, and nevertheless, in the "end be contented with reason: for if the French be will-"ing to have peace, they will speak, and yet, peradventure, "their speech shall be high." "The French willing to "have peace?" said D'Arras. "Yes, I wiss," said he,

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

"I know they have sought peace of us by several ways, "and have propounded certain particular demands for the "same. Howbeit," said he, "the French trust not you, "because they know you be our friends: and therefore, if "you should tell them this, they would deny it. Neverthe-"less," as he proceeded, "since all the world knoweth the "beginning of these wars, and the French King's doings, 407 "the Emperor needeth not to utter them. Which things," said he, "the French King ought to be put in remem-"brance of by them that be mediators; that the French "King might be thereby moved to make such offers as are "reasonable. And when that shall be offered, the world "shall well know the Emperor to be affected to such a rea-"sonable peace, as may serve to avoid the occasion of new "wars, and be for the quiet of all Christendom."

The state of the Emperor's person.

This was the sum of the talk that passed between Arras and the ambassadors. Touching the estate of the Emperor's person, the ambassadors sent word to the Lords of the Council, that they could by no means learn assuredly how it was with him: for it was kept so, that there was no man came abroad that was able directly to say, the Emperor is in this or that case.

As for the state and government of the Low Countries, after the Emperor's death, which the Lords willed the ambassadors to understand, they caused Chamberlain, one of them, to make as diligent search as he could: whose discourse they sent to the said Lords, together with the advertisements out of Italy.

And of his countries, after his decease.

The said discourse was to this tenor: "That he had "learned, that the government of those countries belonged "of right to the Emperor's son, after his decease, although "the people did bear him small affection; so that it was "thought, that if Maximilian would make any offer of him-"self, when such opportunity should serve, that he might "be the rather and willinger received before the other. It "was also thought, that then Ferdinando might make ques-"tion for the portion of his father's goods; wherein he "would say, he was not indifferently dealt with, alleging

"the partage or repartition to be wrong made: whereof his "brother had promised him recompence, as yet unper-"formed. For Spain, it was thought, that if the mother "should outlive Cesar, that Ferdinando should be nearer "than Philip, by the laws of that country. Although some "said, that Cesar, to make that sure, had gotten his mother "to grant beforehand unto the inheriting of his son her "nephew: which, for all that, was counted of no more "value than the act of a madman. That country would "by no means have the Spaniard to govern or bear rule "over them; which they fear to have, if Cesar's son be "their head. They thought that rather, by accepting of "Maximilian, they should not only be quit of Spaniards to "rule them, and bear stroke in those parts, but also they "should, by such means, unite themselves faster with the "Germans, who did bear him good-will: and so be out of "fear of the Germans' revenge upon that country; for that "they conceived, that Cesar could never have done to them "that he had, without the assistance of those Low Coun-"tries with their money."

The Regent not loved.

As to the Regent, thus he discoursed: "That if Cesar "should take his leave [of the world] or ever his son "[Philip] did arrive, he did not learn, that the Regent "were like to sit long in governance, the people did so "much mislike her former proceedings divers ways. For "whereas in times past, the use had been at all times, when "any loan or tax should be demanded of those countries, "for to call together all the states thereof, parliament-wise, "and openly to propound the demand, with all gentleness "and loving exhortations, the Regent had taken an use for "to call but the deputies of Bruges for Flanders, and the "like of Antwerp for Brabant, stoutly willing them to con- 408
"descend unto such sums as she had demanded: which, if "they had sought to qualify, making any good demonstra-"tions of the weakness of the commons, she would bid "them leave their merchandises or bargaining with her, "saying, that *Cesar must and will have it.*" These, and

BOOK II.

other things, did Morison write to the Lords, concerning the posture of things there.

Anno 1552.

The embassy to the Emperor, to join with the Emperor and the German princes.

By letters from the Council, dated May 24, it appeared to be their intent, to take the occasion that the time ministered, as well for the proceedings with the Emperor, as also for the matters of Almaine, to join the King's Majesty both with the Emperor, and also with other princes of Germany, in a straiter amity: and that Sir Richard Morison should open unto his colleagues the particularities of those things that he had knowledge of. Accordingly they conferred together, and perused such articles of discourse as the said Sir Richard had delivered in writing to them. The copies whereof were sent to the Lords, to the intent that they might the better consider the same; with which also went the ambassadors' letters. Wherein they wrote, "that "according to their Lordships' device, they thought that "such a league and amity would serve to very good pur-"pose, as well for the King's Majesty, as for the defence of "those Low Countries. But how this communication might "be entered into, they were in doubt; because the Em-"peror's sickness seemed to be such, that it was thought he "would not give audience himself, but refer this, as he did "other things, to the Queen: so that of likelihood Mons. "D'Arras, and others, should be made privy to it. And "because the matter required so great secrecy, they mis-"trusted it could not be kept so secret, when it was opened "to the Queen, and by her to others. This made them "doubt how it might be broken, unless they had audience "of the Emperor himself. If the Emperor grew better, and "were able to give them audience, and should like this "league, as in reason he ought, the ambassadors signified "to the Lords, that they thought it good to be followed "with the princes of Germany, after such order as in the "articles of discourse was contained, or otherwise, as should "seem best to the Lords: which might also be the occasion "to bring those unto accord, that then by their strife trou-"bled all Germany. But in case, as the ambassadors fur-

"ther shewed their minds, the Emperor should not like this confederation, as princes' hearts be unknown; then, "after the opening of the matter unto him, they thought it "a matter to be feared, that he would practise to disappoint "the King for making any league at all with the Germans. "Wherefore they thought, that this matter was so to be "moved to the Emperor, as he might not know the King's "full mind herein, until the Emperor's own inclination there-"unto were first felt. They added, that after they should "have spoken with Mr. Mount, (the agent employed with "the German princes,) they should be more able to say fur-"ther herein, and would thereof advertise their Lordships."

Here follow the articles of discourse mentioned above:

It shall be thought good, that the King's Majesty should enter into a straiter amity with the Emperor, jointly with the other princes of Germany. 409

1. First, Whether the Emperor can be contented, that a foreign prince should join in league, having heretofore shewed himself averse to suffer the like.

2. Also, whether he could be contented, that the King's Majesty, our master, should be in confederation with the Germans: because he may fear, that their religion, which he misliketh, might by these means the better be established, and the harder to be altered by him.

3. And whereas the empire, by the league that the Emperor already hath with them, is bound to defend these Low Countries; and he bound again, in all contributions, to pay but as much as two electors, with many other advantages on his part; whether now he can be contented to enter into communication of a new league, which may happen not to prove so beneficial for him, as the present league he now hath.

4. Whether the Germans could be contented to embrace such a league, because that, as it is supposed, they which neither love nor trust the Emperor would be loath to join in league with him, that hath heretofore wrested them unto covenants not indifferent. And as it may be, that by their

BOOK II. Anno 1552.

good-wills they would not observe this present league, they may be much less willing to enter into any new league with him.

5. Whether the league should be made with the princes without the Emperor.

6. Whether the discord which is among the princes should hinder the King's Majesty's purpose herein: for having John Frederic, he should want Duke Maurice and the Landgrave, like as, having them, he may want the other.

7. Whereas a diet is appointed to be at Frankford, for the appeasing of these disorders, if the princes that vary shall be there personally, whether it were good that the King's Majesty should send a person thither, to move the said princes unto accord.

8. Whether it were convenient to let the Emperor understand the King's Majesty's intent here, before he should so send, lest the Emperor might mistrust some other practices, or else might find himself aggrieved, that another prince should meddle with the pacifying of the estates of Germany, he being Emperor, to whose office the order of those matters appertaineth.

9. When these princes should be satisfied, they being of two sorts, as they call them, Protestants and Papists, whether both sorts can be contented to enter into this league or not.

10. Whether the league should be made with part of the princes, unless they were such as were strong enough to weigh the rest. For otherwise, it is doubted, the King's Majesty may be put to more charges with the defence of them, than he shall receive commodity by that league.

410 These articles the King's ambassadors seriously debated among themselves, and at last came to certain resolutions, which they also sent to the Lords under this title:

Our opinions, agreed upon in debating the doubts mentioned in the said articles, to every article particularly.

1. The Emperor heretofore hath not liked the practice of any foreign prince with the Germans, as well for that some

of these practices were meant against him, as he took the league of Smalcald to be; as also because they might be a hinderance to his chief purpose; which, as divers have thought, was to have made himself absolute lord of the whole. But now that he seeth his purpose therein cannot take place, by reason as well of his own age as infirmities, as also by the experience of his enemies' force, we see not in reason, why he should be loath to have other foreign princes joined in league with him and the empire, for the more strait [security] and safeguard of his own countries.

2. When the Emperor shall perceive, that the intent of this league tendeth only to the defence and preservation of his friends' countries and his own, whereby Christendom may be the better preserved from the Turkish invasions, and the French also have the more cause to be in quiet, (without which league, neither his own countries nor Germany can be without danger, if God should call him away,) we think reason would, that, leaving the controversy of religion, he should be content to join with all manner of friends. As the Switsers, who being diverse in religion, are nevertheless whole in league, for their own defence. And hitherto he hath suffered Duke John Frederic, the Duke also of Wirtemberg, and others, also to continue in their religion, it is to be supposed, that for religion only he will not refuse so necessary a league as this.

3. If this league, that the Emperor now hath with the Germans, as it is beneficial for the Emperor, be thought prejudicial unto the Germans, and so taken as unequal, especially for two causes; one, that the Low Countries, being much subject unto wars, shall put the Germans very often to travail and charges, in the contributions, whereof the Emperor's charge is very little, all things considered; and the other, that whereas upon occasions the princes of Germany have sought order at the Emperor's hands, for the correction of those his officers of the Low Countries, which violently have broken the peace against them, that forasmuch as by the common law no man ought to be judge in his own case, it might therefore please his Majesty, those cares might be determined either *per cameram imperialem*, or by indifferent

BOOK II. Anno 1552.

arbiters; they have been answered, that their contri[illegible] should not be sued in the chamber of the empire, for [illegible] manner of cause, but only for not contributing such mon[illegible] as by the covenants they are bound. So that they think the covenants not equal; as it may appear in the writings exhibited by the Germans, in the diet of Augusta. Wherefore if the Germans, misliking this inequality of covenants, to the which they consented as it were by compulsion, when the Emperor was at the greatest, should now have a disposition not to perform this league, when their time should so
411 serve them, we think reason would, the Emperor, considering the inequality of these covenants, should be contented to have them brought unto that equality, that they might have just cause to observe them: and so to stand him in stead, where now it is possible the present league shall stand him in none.

4. The causes why it is thought the Germans neither love nor trust the Emperor, are, that the one side perceived that he went about to alter their religion; and both parts mistrusted he meant of Germany to make a kingdom: which they may so long fear, as he [shuffleth in] his leagues with them. Wherefore, when they shall see a King of England the third in the league, one like to stand by them, as well in religion as in maintenance of their liberties, they cannot in reason but rejoice at it: like as the Emperor himself, who hath now, as it is thought, changed his purpose, neither seeking dominion over them, alteration of religion, nor promotion of his son to the coadjutorship, should be glad to have such an one joined with him, as may both rid the Germans of suspicion, and also be a continual stay for his house.

5. We think it not good for the King's Majesty to enter into any league, unless this Emperor, or his successor Ferdinand, be one of the confederacy. For like as the charges otherwise will be great, and the commodity small, so we reckon little surety to be had of the members without the head.

6. We think, that there be few better means to end the discords and variances of Germany, than the travailing

about this league. For if the King our master, and the Emperor, do enter with the one party, it is like enough the other will make means not to be left out. For neither Frederic would suffer Maurice to be in, and himself out, nor yet Maurice nor the Landgrave remain excluded, if tolerable conditions be offered: as it is like enough there shall be, when men not partial shall be judges thereof, and not themselves. CHAP. XX. Anno 1552.

7. The Germans sending heretofore of their ambassadors into England, to move peace between the King's Majesty deceased and France, may now serve as a good occasion for the King's Highness to render unto them the like gratuity. And as this may be a good beginning to the rest, so they conceiving in us a certain love and affection towards their nation, may, upon friendly motion of this amity, think us fit to be desired and sued unto, to join in this league with them.

8. We think it good, for avoiding of all doubts, if the King's Majesty shall send any man to Frankford to move the princes to a peace, that the Emperor be first made privy, both that his Majesty mindeth to send, and for what purpose he sendeth. And forasmuch as the Emperor, and King of the Romans, and others, have much travailed to see a concord among the Germans, and as hitherto have not brought it to pass, the thing being so godly, and so to the Emperor's benefit as it is, we reckon he must not only take it well, but also yield his thanks unto the King's Majesty, who offereth as well to help peace forward in Germany, as he mindeth it between his Majesty and France.

9. In our opinion, the *guerre* in religion will rather further this matter than hinder it: for while these two are thus divided, they be both so afraid to take harm as they are, and like to refuse safety, if any man would make them offer thereof. The Protestants be not so much the stronger, but they may be afraid of practices, the Emperor being on the 412
other side. And the Papists, being every day spoiled, and afraid of worse, whensoever the Emperor shall go his way, would be gladder than the Protestants, that such order were

BOOK II. taken, as they neither might fear stirs, nor also fear to lose that they have. This is answered in the fifth.

Anno 1552. 10. For the moving of the matter, we do think John Frederic the fittest man to hear of it first: for as he cannot but like it, so he is better able to devise which ways it may be furthered than we can. He hath a man called Frederic, as fit a man as any is to handle this matter. His master and he might perhaps bring it to pass, that the Germans might seek this league at the King's Majesty's hand: which were greatly to the King's honour: and they might also intreat the King of Romans unto it. And in case the Emperor be either dead, as some think he is, or not fit to be practised withal, then we might think Ferdinando might so be moved by the said Frederic, and others, to this matter, as he should by himself, or by his friends, either seek this league at the King's Majesty's hands, or be contented if any overture were made thereof. For Ferdinando shall want these estates, that wealth and riches that the Emperor now hath, and therefore more need foreign friendship than the Emperor doth.

And if the King of Romans, being spoke unto by Frederic, would think it his part to advertise the Emperor hereof, and so should communicate the matter unto him, the Emperor should yet but know what the Germans desire. And Frederic might say, the King's motion of him and others to peace made him to devise how he, and the rest of Germany, might declare themselves worthy this his good-will.

It is like, that Ferdinando, understanding his brother's estate, will practise what he can, and where he may, to get him all the friendship that is to be gotten. And here it is to be feared, lest, if neither we speak for ourselves, nor none other for us, that he, in this time of practice, may speed himself of such friendship, as he shall think our amity hereafter little needful. He is already allied, by marriage of his daughters, with the Dukes of Bavaire and of Cleves. And now there is a marriage concluded between the King of Pole and his daughter the Duchess of Mantua. He is

esteemed a Prince of a right and good nature, true of his word, much careful of his honour: and therefore is beloved of Protestants and Papists. He travailed very much with the Emperor at Villache, that the articles of religion might pass as the Protestants did desire: and therefore will not, as we think, much stick to enter into any amity with England, notwithstanding our religion. CHAP. XXI. Anno 1552.

And these were the matters the King's ambassadors were doing in Germany, and the advices they gave: which the Lords of the Council did so approve, that they seemed speedily to resolve upon those measures.

CHAP. XXI. 413

The King's ambassadors in France, and to King Ferdinand, and to the Emperor. Their access to his presence. Instructions sent them for their proceedings.

In the mean time, the English ambassadors, commissioners for the mediation in France, Wotton, Pickering, and Chaloner, by a letter writ May 1, gave some account of the demands of the French; which were extravagant. For having conference with the French King and his council, they found these men loath to seem to make any first offer, before they heard how the other part, *viz.* the Emperor, was disposed for a peace. Hence their demands at first were, the duchy of Milan, the county of Ast, the realms of Naples and Sicily, and Arragon, the superiority of Flanders and of Artois, the town of Tourney, with the county of Tourneses; the kingdom of Navar to be restored to the rightful king; and Siena they were content should be set at liberty, as before, free from the subjection of the one and the other. As for Metz, Tul, and Verdune, they challenged nothing but the guard and protection thereof. These demands and offers the ambassadors sent to the Lords of the Council, to be further used, as their wisdoms should think meet, by their instructions. But these offers for an introduction to The French's demands.

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

the peace were of such a nature, that the ambassadors with the Emperor forbore to open them to that court: for they supposed them to be such, as would marvellously hinder that matter, rather than do any good at all, as they wrote to the Lords, and as we shall hear more by and by.

Instructions for the ambassador to Ferdinand.

Sheres, as was said before, was despatched ambassador to the King of the Romans and his son, with instructions tending, as it seems, to make way thereby for a fast friendship with the princes of Germany, and to induce the Emperor thereto. These instructions (which were the same in effect with the schedule in the chapter before, sent the Council by the ambassadors in the Emperor's court) were by the Council communicated to the said ambassadors. Wherein they, in their letters, June 4, gave their opinions, that the Lords had taken the best way possible to be devised; and chosen the very time that best served to the beginning of that matter, and, as they verily trusted, there should good success follow thereof.

The ambassadors could yet have no answer, by reason of the Emperor's sickness.

The Emperor still continued indisposed, so that no access of the English ambassadors could be permitted to him. The King thought long of their abode there, without any entry hitherto into the matter they came for, being now the beginning of June: and willed them therefore to use the best means they could conveniently, to obtain the Emperor's answer. On the other hand, the ambassadors assured the Lords, that it had grieved, and did grieve them not a little,
414 to think how long this delay had lasted, and how impossible it was for them to do more than they had done. For the Emperor's sickness, as they shewed, being such, as no man could speak with him, was the continual excuse made by that court to the ambassadors for their delay. So that as fast as they pressed them for answer, they as fast again did entreat them of a little patience, bearing them still in hand, that the Emperor himself would needs answer them. Yet should the Emperor's Council have given in their answer now, the ambassadors said, they could in a manner conjecture what it should be. For they looked to have some overtures out of France, through their [the ambassadors']

The French's insolent demands obstruct the mediation.

hands, such as might be an entry to persuade them, that it was like the French King would come to some reason. Whereas those offers above-mentioned, that they had received from the King's ambassadors there, were demands, and not such as they thought meet for them to open in particularities, without special commandment from the King's Council. Lest that they of the Emperor's Council there, receiving at the ambassadors' hands such unreasonable demands, instead of offers, and thinking them allowed by the Lords of the King's Council, and so set forth by them [the ambassadors] by order from the said Lords, might take it unkindly, and allege, that the King's Majesty tendered not the Emperor's honour in this, so much as by their message it was pretended: and thereupon the Emperor's Council make answer to them [the ambassadors] contrary to the King's Majesty's expectation.

The ambassadors added, that they remembered, that before their coming forth, their Lordships would not suffer the like matter to be put into the instructions, having considered as much as that came to, upon Pickering's advertisements of the French's like demands.

The ambassadors loath to mention them to the Emperor.

The Council had urged the ambassadors to press for an answer from the Emperor, upon this reason, because the ambassadors in France did expect to hear from the Emperor's court, now since the French King had once spoken. Upon which the said ambassadors with the Emperor wrote to the King's Council, that they could not see what they might do more, considering that this the French King's speaking was, as they said, no speaking at all. For that as yet it had not been uttered unto the Emperor; and that, in their opinion, it should rather hinder the matter than otherwise, if those demands should be uttered. They proceeded, that it might appear by former letters, wrote May 13, sent to their Lordships, wherein was contained their communication with Mons. D'Arras: unto whom they did then indirectly, by circumstances, open a likelihood of the French's offers, as things grounded for honour, to the beginning of a talk, and nothing meant; yet they could not perceive any

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

disposition in him to hear unreasonable matters moved whereby, they said, they had the more cause to conjecture that of unreasonable demands, like answer might follow. The conclusion was, that seeing the Emperor was in that case, that it was most uncertain when they should speak with him; yea, and when they should speak with him, that they should have no other offers than those to make him; they therefore humbly besought the Lords to prescribe unto them what they should do; whether they should open to the Emperor (or for lack of him to the Queen) those French offers as they were, or what they should further do
415 in this behalf. For, said they, without order given us from your Lordships, we neither durst nor dare open these demands.

The Emperor mends.

About this time came D'Arras to the ambassadors' lodgings, to pray them of a little more patience, telling them, that the gout in the Emperor's leg had so fairly left him, that he thought himself almost well: but it was come into his hand, that he could not yet tend any business. Nevertheless, he would surely answer them within a while, to their contentation. The ambassadors made him a courteous answer, wishing the Emperor speedy recovery, that they might understand some towardness of the matter they came for.

The ambassadors have audience.

The 8th of June was the day the King's ambassadors had their long expected audience of the Emperor. The manner whereof was as followeth: the same day, in the afternoon, about five of the clock, Mons. de Baldemont and Gerard, two of the Emperor's Council, fetched them from their lodging to the Court: where first they had access unto the Queen. By whom, after great excuse made of the long delay of their answer, it was told them, that like as the King their master, in travailing on this sort to pacify the present wars, had not only shewed himself a very sincere friend unto the Emperor, but also a well-willer of the tranquillity of all Christendom, according to the office of a good King: so the Emperor, for his part, did not only yield unto his good brother his most hearty thanks, but also assured them, that whensoever those reasonable conditions were offered, that might

The Regent speaks to them.

appear to tend unto a perfect and unfeigned peace, it should well be known, that the Emperor did presently no less covet the quiet of all Christendom, than as a good Christian Prince should, and as he had ever coveted and travailed for it. And since the cause of these wars was unknown to the Emperor, being begun of the French King in that sort, that all the world knew, it was therefore reason that the offers also should begin there: or else, said she, let them that had begun shew what ground they had to begin it, that it might be seen by indifferent men in whom the fault was: and then look what might, with the Emperor's honour, in reason be required; and it should be seen, whether he meant not indeed as she had now said unto them. And herewith she left that matter, and told them, that they should immediately speak with the Emperor himself, and should at his hands perceive, whether this were true or not.

They come into the Emperor's presence.

Whereupon she caused them to be led down to the Emperor's chamber of presence: from whence, after a little pause, they were brought into his privy chamber. There they found him sitting in a chair, with his feet on a stool, looking very pale, weak, lean, and feeble; howbeit, nothing so ill as they before believed of him; for his eyes were lively enough, and his speech sensible: so that the ambassadors could not tell what to judge of him; for he had escaped so many perils of sickness, that though his colour and his flesh were gone, yet he might, they said, endure a while: yet, to judge him by their sight, they said, that he appeared to them a man of short time of continuance. When the ambassadors came into his presence, and had made their due reverence, they gave the King's commendations to him, and in few words touched the King's Majesty's affection to him, and then the cause wherefore they were sent. Whereunto he briefly answered them after this manner: "That 116
"he was sorry for their long delay there; but his sickness
"had been the cause, wherefore he prayed them to bear
"withal. And for their message, he did especially thank
"the King, his good brother, both for his good affection,
"which he always found in him, and also for his zeal unto

He answers them.

H.

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

"the concord and peace of all Christendom, giving him the "title of *a good and virtuous King*; shewing himself "much pleased, that the King did so earnestly follow this "good purpose, so friendly by him taken in hand: assuring "them, that upon offer of reasonable conditions, his honour "being saved, they should well see how he tendered peace. "And praying them to make his most hearty commendations "unto the King, his good brother," the ambassadors took their leave of him, wishing to his Majesty strength and long health. All this the ambassadors certified by a letter, dated June 9, sent by Mr. Thomas, clerk of the Council, together with other intelligence, which he had in credit from them.

The Council's directions to the ambassadors not to mention the French demands.

By letters from the Council, dated June 11, the ambassadors, who, as we heard before, desired further directions, whether it were the King's pleasure that they should open either to the Emperor or the Queen those offers which were made by the French King, or not, were told, that it might have appeared to them by former letters, that they, the Council, thought not fit that the said overtures should be opened, neither to the Emperor, nor the Queen, nor any other; and that the King was still of the same mind, as well for the considerations mentioned in their [the ambassadors'] letters, as for certain other. And whereas the Council had before wrote unto them of the unlikelihood of further opening on the French part, for such causes as were in their letter contained; their meaning, they said, was not that they, the ambassadors, should declare those unreasonable demands of the French, but only to set forth to them, that they should take occasion, as soon as they might, to do the message they had first from them, the King's Council.

The French remain high in their terms.

The French still remained high in their terms, and shewed no good disposition towards an accord with the Emperor, but only in words. For the Council, by the King's commandment, had written to Dr. Wotton and the rest at the French court, to use the best means they could to get some further knowledge, and to assay whether it might be obtained to have any other conditions propounded in France:

not, as they signified to the ambassadors with the Emperor, they had no great hope to receive any answer more certain than before. And therefore now, by a letter writ June 11, they instructed the said ambassadors, that they might, as they should see convenient time, proceed according to their instructions. And that if any overtures more reasonable should be propounded, then they might further go on, according to his Majesty's former charge committed unto them.

Urged by the ambassadors to propound other terms.

The ambassadors with the Emperor, after their audience, soon wrote to the King's commissioners with the French King, declaring what answer the Emperor had given them; exhorting them, that they should move that King as earnestly as they could devise, to come to the offer of some reasonable conditions, or at least such as were void of extremities, and the which might induce some treaty by their friends toward a concord. To this the Council also urged the said commissioners. And by this plain proceeding with the French King, the Council did think (and so they wrote, 417 June 20, to the ambassadors at Brussels) their commissioners should either have occasion given to enter further into the matter, or some such other resolute answer, as might determine both their ambassades.

The King's progress in his mediation.

The King being now near his end, and in the daily increase of his sickness, which by this time grew very extreme upon him, yet such was his generous and Christian disposition, that he was very earnest in this his mediation for peace, as though he desired to see Christendom at quiet before his death. And these were the last steps I find made in this business. After the King's ambassadors had been with the French King, soliciting for more reasonable offers, that might shew him well affected to peace, he, in fine, gave them such answers as little tended to the proceeding to a treaty. Nevertheless, the Emperor was again addressed to by the ambassadors at his court, who now shewed him plainly what the French's demands were; but they were instructed to soften the roughness of them, by esteeming it only as a practice formerly used in the entry into these kind of debates, wherein commonly more was demanded than

BOOK II.

Anno 1553.

was expected to be granted, being intended chiefly to introduce discourse. But, however these things succeeded, the ambassadors were ordered to assure the Emperor of the King's most hearty affection to him and his affairs, and of his care for the good estate of Christendom. But the Council's letters to these ambassadors will shew all this business more distinctly: which I will set down at length in this place, being writ the 1st of July, that is, but six days before the good King's death.

The Council unto the ambassadors with the Emperor. Galba, B. 12.

"After our hearty commendations. Upon the receipt of "your letters of this last month, by the which you declared "unto us the answer made unto you by the Emperor, upon "your access unto him, we sent unto you the King's Ma-"jesty's commissioners being in France, to proceed again "with the French King in the matter of peace, and by "some means to procure more reasonable demands; upon "the which some kind of entry might be taken to treat "thereof. For which purpose, we gave them certain know-"ledge of the Emperor's answer unto the French King: "whereby it might be seen, both how the Emperor was "disposed to a peace, and yet, nevertheless, without some "particular overture of the French King's behalf, not "minded to enter any further talk of the matter. This "message is done by our ambassadors, and answer received "from the French King, such as do little further the pro-"ceeding to a treaty. And yet it seemeth convenient, for "the honour of the King's Majesty, and for demonstration "of his earnest meaning in this travail, to proceed further "with the Emperor by your means.

"And first, touching the answer made by the French "King, because ye shall both certainly and plainly under-"stand as we do, we send herewith a copy of such part of "the ambassadors' letters as appertaineth thereunto. Upon "consideration whereof, the King's Majesty thinketh it con-"venient, that ye should seek access unto the Emperor, and "after recommendation from his Majesty, declare the very "troth and proceedings of the matter, as followeth. First,

"that the King's Majesty's ministers with the French King "had such answer from him in their first motion for the "peace, that although the French King declared himself "to have good will to a peace, yet his demands were so 418 "great, and in such extremities, as the King our master "thought it not expedient, for the furtherance of the mat-"ter, to open the same demands unto the Emperor: but as "one that meant indifferently in these extremities, to obtain "that which he desired, that was, the peace betwixt both, "the Prince forbore the utterance of that which he thought "impertinent to the end, and sought only occasion of some "entry unto a treaty. And now having caused his minis-"ters with the French King to proceed again unto some "more reasonable articles, or matters of treaty, they find "the former disposition in the French King to appear for "the weal of Christendom; and yet they find him still to "rest so upon his former demands, as he looked for answer "to be had thereof before he will fashion any new matters. "So as the King's Majesty hereupon is, as it were, forced, "for the earnest desire he hath to see some fruit of his tra-"vail, to open unto his said good brother the Emperor, "both the fashion of the French King's answer from time "to time, and the cause that moved his Majesty to abstain "from the opening thereof before.

"This done, if the Emperor require it, or that you shall "see it otherwise convenient, ye may declare unto him the "particularities of the first demands of the French King, "as heretofore ye have been advertised from hence; and as "you, Mr. Hoby, have indirectly opened heretofore to "Mons. D'Arras. After the which declared, ye may add, "for the salving of the strangeness of the demands, that "although the King's Majesty, our master, taketh the same "demands to be very strange; yet calling to remembrance, "that heretofore between princes being in debates, and "coming towards treaties of peace, it hath been often used, "that in the beginning, to enter in communication of like "matters, there hath been, in outward appearance, and in "the first speech, larger and more ample demands made, "than have been meant, either of one part to obtain, or of

BOOK II.

Anno 1553.

"the other to grant; offering thereby occasion only of "talk: as in this case it may please the Emperor to interpret it; the King's Majesty thinketh it not unlikely so "to proceed of the French King. And therefore his Majesty desireth his good brother to take this his travail "and plainness in good part; and to assure himself, that "what means soever may be devised towards the proceeding and perfection of this beginning, his Majesty will not "refuse to shew himself, as he hath hitherto done, both "careful of the common estate of Christendom, and always "well willing to have the affairs of his good brother in like "consideration as his own.

"In this manner, as ye see occasion, either dilate or "strengthen the proceedings in speech, so as you observe "two things; the one, that the King's Majesty's affection "towards the having of this peace, may appear to continue "as it hath been from the beginning uttered: the other is, "that if you see likelihood of peace to follow, that the "King's Majesty's former travail be not made frustrate, by "other intermeddling herein; but that his Majesty may "have both the ameyning of the matters, and be therein, "for his own part, provided as becometh. If you shall see "no likelihood of peace, then it shall be well done to procure such resolution and answer, as may be an occasion
419 "for your return, upon advertisement first made hither to "us, the honour of the King's Majesty, and the continuance of amity with the Emperor, therein provided.

"And until answer hereof be had from you, the commissioners with the French King remain, as it were, unoccupied, &c. And so we bid you heartily farewell, from "Greenwich, the 1st of July, 1553.

"Tho. Cant.	W. Northampt.	R. Cotton.
"Tho. Ely, Canc.	F. Huntingdon.	J. Gates.
"Winchester.	Pembroke.	W. Petre.
"Northumberland.	Ed. Clynton.	W. Cecyl.
"J. Bedford.	G. Cobham.	Joh. Cheke.
"H. Suffolk.	R. Ryche.	Ed. North.
"Arundel.	T. Cheyne.	Ro. Bowes."
"F. Shrewsbury.	Darcy.	

CHAP. XXI.

Anno 1553.

A great Court now, and why.

By the number of subscribers, we may conclude the Court was now full; partly to see what the end of the King's sickness would be: and partly obliged, no doubt, by Northumberland, to be present at the new settlement that was now making of the crown, after the King's decease, into his family: that so all the Council, and best of the nobility, might be dipped in it, that it might be the firmer.

A foul and cruel piracy committed upon the English.

In this mediation nothing more was done, nor likely to be done, the Bishop of Norwich and Sir Richard Morison coming home, and the King's death preventing. Nor do I find any other orders after this, proceeding from the Council to these ambassadors, but only one by a letter written to Hoby, (left there ledger,) three days before the King's death, concerning a *foul and most cruel piracy*, as it is there called, done upon the sea by some of the Emperor's subjects. The Council sent withal a supplication, and certain other writings, exhibited unto them, the Council, by certain merchants of London, that were the sufferers: which papers shewed the manner of doing it at length. One whereof the Council took particular notice of, as they writ, "That although the rest of the circumstances made the "thing strange, yet this made it to be most strange, that "the piracy should be committed by such a fleet, having "among them an admiral, a man of name and reputa-"tion," &c. They therefore desired Hoby to employ his accustomed wisdom and dexterity, in such sort, as the merchants might have a just and large recompence, or restitution, of their ships and goods, and other things taken from them.

Ambassadors ordinary in France, and with the Emperor.

The King's ambassadors also with the French King had orders to come home the very beginning of July, *viz.* Dr. Wotton and Sir William Pickering; little advance toward a treaty between that King and the Emperor being like to succeed by their mediation: and as Hoby was left the King's ambassador ordinary with the Emperor, so Sir Thomas Chaloner was left in the same quality in France. And a letter, dated July 2, was sent to that King, in commendation of the said Sir Thomas, for his placing in that room.

BOOK II.

Anno 1553. 420

CHAP. XXII.

Orders for subscription to the Articles of Religion; and for the teaching and learning of the Catechism set forth by the King's authority. Irish matters. The Duke of Northumberland. The Lady Mary's letter to the King. Divers great matches. The King's gift to London, &c. The King's death. His last will. His funeral. His character.

BUT now to return into the King's dominions, and look upon things nearer home.

The King's command to the bishops for requiring subscription to the Articles of Religion.

Some of the good King's last consultations for the state of religion was, his care that the Articles of the true doctrine of religion, lately framed, should be subscribed to by the bishops, and by all such as should take holy orders, or officiate in the Church, either in reading or preaching, or that enjoyed any benefices: and that a book should be kept in the bishop's register for that purpose, as a record. And that any that refused to subscribe to them, should not be admitted by the bishop to any orders or ecclesiastical ministry. And that such as scrupled to subscribe, for lack of the right knowledge and understanding of any of them, the bishop by instruction and conference should endeavour to inform them, allowing them about six weeks' time for deliberation; otherwise to disable them from enjoying any preferment in the Church. And this seems to be the first time that subscription to the Articles was enjoined.

And for teaching the Catechism.

And having likewise lately set forth a Catechism, by his royal authority, for all youth that went to school to be taught, in order to their bringing up in God's favour, and in the knowledge of true religion, with a commandment to all schoolmasters to teach it accordingly; the King enjoined the bishop to visit yearly every school in his respective diocese, and to inquire how the said Catechism was duly taught, and all scholars learned the same. And certificate to be sent from the bishop to the archbishop, of any offences committed against this order, from time to time. Letters from the King, dated from Greenwich, in June,

for this purpose, I shall set down, (and the rather, because none of our Church historians take notice of it,) being exemplified from that sent to Ridley, bishop of London.

Registr. Ridley, p. 997.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And because it hath pleased Almighty God, in this latter time of the world, after long darkness of knowledge, to reveal to this his Church of England, whereof we have, under Christ, the chief charge in earth, a sincere knowledge of the gospel, to the inestimable benefit of us and our people, redeemed by our Saviour Christ; we have thought it meet, and our duty, (for the pure conservation of the same gospel in our Church, with one uniform profession, doctrine, and preaching, and for the avoiding of many perilous and vain opinions and errors,) to send unto you certain Articles, devised and gathered with great study, and by counsel and good advice of the greatest learned part of our bishops of this realm, and sundry others of our clergy. Which Articles we will and exhort yourself to subscribe, and in your preachings, and readings, and teachings, to observe; and cause to be subscribed and observed of all others, which do or hereafter shall preach, teach, or read within your diocese. And if any person or persons, having benefice within your diocese, shall from henceforth not only refuse wilfully to set their hands to these Articles, but also obstinately exhort their parochians to withstand the same, and teach the people in any contrary way, our pleasure is, that being duly proved, ye shall advertise us or our Council of the whole matter fully; to the intent, that such further order may, by direction from us and our said Council, be taken, as the cause shall require, and shall stand with justice and the order of our laws.

421

"And further, that when, and as-often as ye shall have any manner of person presented to you, to be advanced by you, as the Ordinary, to any ecclesiastical order, ministry, office, or cure, within your diocese, ye shall, before ye admit him, confer with him in every these Ar-

BOOK II.

Anno 1553.

"ticles; and finding him thereto consenting, to cause him "to subscribe the same, in one ledger-book to be formed "for that purpose: which may remain as a register for a "record; and to let him have a copy of the same Articles. "And if any man in that case shall refuse to consent to "any of the said Articles, and to subscribe the same, then "we will and command you, that neither you, nor any for "you, or by your procurancy in any wise, shall admit him, "or allow him, as sufficient and meet to take any orders, "ministry, or ecclesiastical cure. For which your so doing, "we shall discharge you from all manner of penalties, or "danger of actions, suits, or pleas of *Premunire*, *Quare im-* "*pedit*, or such like. And yet our meaning is, that if any "party refuse to subscribe any of these Articles, for lack of "learning, or knowledge of the truth thereof, ye shall in "any wise, by teaching, conference, and proof of the same "by the Scriptures, reasonably and discreetly move and "persuade him thereto, before ye shall peremptorily judge "him as unable, and a recusant. And for the trial of his "conformity, ye shall, according to your discretion, prefix "him a time and space convenient to deliberate, and give "his consent: so it be betwixt three weeks and six weeks "from the time of his first access unto you. And if after "six weeks he will not consent and agree willingly to sub- "scribe, then ye may, and lawfully shall, in any wise refuse "to admit or enable him.

"And where there is of late, by our authority, set forth "a Catechism for the instruction of young scholars in the "fear of God and true knowledge of his holy religion, "with express commandment from us to all schoolmasters, "to teach and instruct scholars the said Catechism; mak- "ing it the beginning and first [entry] of their teaching in
422 "the schools; our pleasure is, that for the better execution "of our said commandment, you shall yearly (at the least) "once visit, or cause to be visited, every school within your "said diocese. In which visitation it shall be required, "both how the schoolmaster of every such school hath "used himself in the teaching of the said Catechism; and

also how the scholars do receive and follow the same: making plain and full certificate of the offenders contrary to this order, and of their several offences, to the Archbishop of the province, within three months, from time to time, after every such offence. Yeven under our signet, at our manor of Greenwich, the 9th day of June, in the seventh year of our reign."

Warr. Book.

This Catechism I conclude to be the Church Catechism, joined now ordinarily with our Common Prayer, for the printing of which John Day had the King's licence in the month of March before; as likewise he had from Queen Elizabeth afterwards.

Letters to the Irish lords.

In the month of May were many letters written from the King to divers, and the chief, of the Irish nobility: what the contents thereof were, I do not learn. But if I take it right, the intention thereof seems to be, by promises of pardon and fair words, either to reduce them to obedience, or to keep them from making disquiet in that realm. These letters, all of one date, *viz.* May 13, were to the Earl of Tyrone; to the Bishop of Done and Dromore; to O Hanion, lord of Oriet; to Mac Donel, captain of the Galloglas; to Maculyn; to Ochan; to Magwyre lord of Farmannagh; to John O-nel, the Earl of Tyrone's son; to Molror Oraylie, lord of Breffyn; and to Hugh Macnellog, lord of Clanaboy.

Northumberland's grants.

Dudley, the great Duke of Northumberland, now bore all the sway at Court, and in effect did what he listed. This year, besides the county palatine of Durham, (the honour and power of which was like to fall to him,) the King gave him Bernard's castle there, with very great additions of lands and lordships in that county and in Northumberland. He was also now made high steward of all the honours, castles, manors, lordships, and lands in the counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmorland, and York, or any otherwhere in the bishopric of Durham, for life. He had also granted to him the manors of Feckenham, Bromesgrove, King's-norton, in Worcestershire, with many other lands. The year before, he was made chief steward

BOOK II.

Anno 1553.

of the east riding of York, and of all the King's lordship: Holdernes and Cottingham in the said county. The year before that, he was constituted general warden or keeper of the marches of England towards Scotland; namely, of the east, west, and middle marches: which were scarcely before put into one man's hand, (except the Marquis of Dorset, immediately before him,) and he to appoint his deputy wardens. And his patent was ordered to be drawn up in the most large and comprehensive manner, enduing him with as much authority, power, preeminence, commodity, and liberty, as any before him had enjoyed from Richard the Second's time to Henry the Eighth, as the warrant ran. Besides these things in the north, he obtained of the King great and spreading demeans in Somersetshire, Warwick, and Worcestershire, and many other counties.

The Duke of Northumberland's greatness.

423 So that by this time the Duke had prodigiously enriched himself, and made himself formidably great, by lands and lordships, honours and offices, castles, and places of trust, heaped upon him by the King; to whom it was not safe to deny him any thing he asked. He had strengthened his interest also by raising himself friends upon the King's cost, as more especially, the Lord Clinton and Sir John Gates, and his brother, Sir Andrew Dudley, master of the wardrobe, and taken into the order of the Garter, and his own sons, Ambrose, raised to the degree of Earl of Warwick, and master of the King's horse, Sir Robert Dudley, made a lord, and the King's carver, and Guilford Dudley, whom the Duke was now marrying to one of the royal blood, *viz.* the Lady Jane, eldest daughter of the Duke of Suffolk.

Northumberland's cares for the realm.

This present juncture was an extraordinary busy time with him. For finding the King declining apace in his health, (which some thought himself the instrument of,) his ambitious mind drew him to make his advantage hereof, and to advance his family to reign: which he did by suggesting to the King the danger of the true religion, which he had so carefully reformed and established, if his sister Mary should succeed, who was wholly Popish: advising him therefore, that he should by his express will exclude her,

and make a settlement of the crown upon the family of the Greys, married into the royal blood; a daughter whereof one of his sons had lately wedded. The courtiers saw Northumberland's designs, and many of them did but coldly espouse the business, and were not as careful in the matter as himself: which he expected they should be, out of their unfeigned concern for religion and the safety of the realm, which he much talked of and pretended. And having occaston in the beginning of May to write to Secretary Cecyl, then retired into the country upon pretence of being sick of an ague, but perhaps more truly sick of Northumberland's project, he lamented to him the great negligence of many in the Court in *those*, as he called them, *most dangerous days*: "and that neither zeal, nor the consideration of the "time, could scarcely awake them, and smoothly winked "all cares from their hearts. And that he could illy bear "them; such was his duty to the State, as he plausibly "writ, like a very careful statesman." But another of his cares perhaps now was, that in the beginning of this May the King was in a probability of restoration to his health. For he now seemed to amend and grow better, and the physicians made no doubt of his thorough recovery: and the rather, because the King was now resolved to follow their directions, which he was not so inclinable to do before. This, Northumberland said, he was sure would comfort the Secretary; and that the news of it, two or three mornings one after another, being brought him by the physicians, revived his spirits. Nevertheless, all this surely was but a copy of his countenance. Or if he were in earnest, it was because the King might live to have his aforesaid designed settlement of the crown confirmed by Parliament; which was soon after called for that purpose, and should have sat, had the King lived.

K.

The King mends.

And the King's growing better, together with a present he had sent his sister Mary, caused her to write to him a congratulatory letter, as little doubting now a perfect recovery; which ran in this tenor:

The Lady Mary writes a congratulatory letter to him hereupon.

BOOK II.

Anno 1553.

424 MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

"My duty most humbly remembered unto your Majesty. It may please the same to be advertised, that as the hearing of your Highness' late rheum-cough was to me as much grief as ever was any thing; even so the hope which I have conceived, since I received your Majesty's last token by my servant, hath been not a little to my comfort. Praying Almighty God, as according to my bounden duty, to give your Majesty perfect health and strength, with long continuance in prosperity to reign. Beseeching your Highness to pardon this my bold and rude writing. And if in the same I do trouble your Majesty at this present, as I hope I do not, that then my humble duty and nature, which enforced me thereunto, may excuse my default. Thus most humbly taking my leave of your Majesty, I do and shall daily pray for the prosperous preservation of your most royal state, as of all others I am most bound. From Beaulyeu, the xvi of May, scribbled with a rude hand.

"Your Majesty's most humble sister,

"Marye."

A deputy constable of the Tower made.

Now therefore having the great game of all to play, to bring the crown into his family, the Duke thought of securing the Tower. Sir John Gage, the present constable of the Tower, being now absent, either by sickness or some other cause, Sir James Croft, one of this Duke's confidents, was appointed to be Gage's deputy in his absence, in order to laying him quite aside. And in May instructions were sent by the King to Sir James Croft and Sir Edward Warner, lieutenant of the Tower, for their proceedings, touching the good order to be kept there. And a warrant was sent to the Treasurer of the Augmentations, to pay the said Sir James, deputy constable of the Tower, forty shillings by the day, for thirty men appointed under him; and to Sir Edward Warner, eightpence a day apiece for ten men. And in the same month of May orders were given to Clinton, lord admiral, for the discharging of several bulwarks and

fortifications, as those at East and West Tilbury, Sandshot in Dorsetshire, the bulwark of Higham, and those of Gravesend and Milton in Kent, and the powder and munition in them to be removed to the Tower, for the better guard thereof. And in the same month of May a licence was given to the Lord Warwick and to the Lord Robert Dudley, two of the Duke's sons, the one to retain an hundred men, and the other fifty.

CHAP. XXII. Anno 1553.

A new secretary.

In the next month, *viz.* June, a third secretary of state was appointed, (a thing scarce known before,) *viz.* Sir John Cheek: whose love and zeal to religion made him safe to the interest of the Lady Jane. And a gift was added to him and his heirs, of Clare in Suffolk, with other lands, to the yearly value of 100*l.* And in the same month was sent to the Lord Admiral a letter, to take charge of the Tower, and enter upon the government thereof. And another letter was sent to the Lieutenant, to assist the said Lord Admiral in all things, as should be by the said Lord declared to him, and to observe such directions as he should appoint. And another letter, dated June 30, revoking Sir James Croft from the charge of the oversight and order of the Tower, and to permit the said Lord Clinton, to whom the King had appointed the chief order, rule, and safe custody of the same.

Lord Clinton made constable of the Tower.

425

Preparations for certain great matches.

And a little before this time were great preparations making for the match (which was celebrated in May) of the Lady Jane with Guilford, Northumberland's son, and some other marriages that were to accompany that; as the Earl of Pembroke's eldest son with the Lady Katharin, the Duke of Suffolk's second daughter; and the Earl of Huntingdon's eldest son with the Duke of Northumberland's youngest daughter; and another of the said Duke's near relations, (his brother, I think,) Sir Andrew Dudley, was likewise matched, near the same time, with Margaret Clifford, the Earl of Cumberland's daughter. And for the more solemnity and splendour of this day, the master of the wardrobe had divers warrants, to deliver out of the

BOOK II.

Anno 1553.

King's wardrobe much rich apparel and jewels: as, to deliver to the Lady Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, to the Duchess of Northumberland, to the Lady Marchioness of Northampton, to the Lady Jane, daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, and to the Lord Guilford Dudley, for wedding apparel; (which were certain parcels of tissues, and cloth of gold and silver, which had been the late Duke's and Duchess's of Somerset, forfeited to the King;) and to the Lady Katharin, daughter to the said Duke of Suffolk, and the Lord Herbert, for wedding apparel, and to the Lord Hastings, and Lady Katharin, daughter to the Duke of Northumberland, for wedding apparel, certain parcels of stuff and jewels. Dated from Greenwich, the 24th of April. A warrant also there came to the wardrobe, to deliver to the King's use, for the finishing certain chairs for his Majesty, six yards of green velvet, and six yards of green satin: another, to deliver to the Lady Mary's Grace, his Majesty's sister, a table diamond, with pearl pendant at the same; and to the Duchess of Northumberland, one square tablet of gold, enamelled black, with a clock, late parcels of the Duchess of Somerset's jewels. And lastly, another warrant to Sir Andrew Dudley, to take for the Lady Margaret Clifford, daughter of the Earl of Cumberland, and to himself, for their wedding apparel, sundry silks and jewels: this last warrant bearing date June 8.

The King's charitable gift to the city. Warr. Book.

The King, but the month before his death, gave a most royal and exemplary charity to the city of London, for the better maintenance of their poor of all sorts. For in June there was an indenture made between the King's Majesty and the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London, "witnessing, that the King's Majesty hath given and "granted to the said mayor and commonalty, and their "successors for ever, towards the maintenance of the poor "and impotent people, all his manor-house and place of "Bridewel, with the appurtenances, lying or being in the "parish of St. Bridget in Fleet-street, London, with divers "other lands, &c. with a licence unto them for to purchase

Bridewel. Council-Book.

4000 mark land, for the use abovesaid; besides the lands given them by his Majesty in London, and elsewhere. And also his Majesty covenanteth, that they shall purchase so much land as they are afore licensed, besides the fees and pensions granted by the King's letters patents to the officers that shall serve in any of the hospitals. And his Majesty covenanteth, that as well the lands given by his Highness, as those that they shall purchase, shall be clearly quitted and discharged against his Majesty, his 426 heirs and successors for ever, of all tenths and first-fruits, and of all and singular sums of money, for or in the name of a tenth, or yearly tenth part, or in the name of first-fruits. And that they may make godly and wholesome ordinances, statutes, and rules, for the good governance of the poor. And it shall be lawful for them, within the city of London and county of Middlesex, to search and examine, by all ways and means, all manner of suspicious houses, as taverns, alehouses, and such like, gaming and dicing houses, dancing schools, tennis plays, bowling alleys, and such other like suspect places, for ruffians, vagabonds, and idle persons, and masterless. And further, his Majesty hath granted unto them to do, and suffer to be done, all thing and things, be it by letters patents, acts of Parliament, confirmation, or otherways, for the more assurance of the premises, as by their learned Council shall be devised:" as it ran *verbatim* in the Council manuscript-book, which I often make use of, and I do here the rather specify it, because perhaps this original indenture may have been consumed in the great conflagration, with other of the hospital's writings and muniments. In the same manuscript a note of the gift is set down in these words: "A gift unto the said mayor, &c. of the manor, chief messuage, tenement and house called Bridewel, and divers other lands, to the yearly value of 450*l.*" And besides this house of Bridewel, he gave the city for their poor, the Gray Friars, now called Christ's Church, and St. Thomas hospital in Southwark.

BOOK II.

Anno 1558.

For a new Parliament.

In this month of June a warrant was issued to the Lord Chancellor, to make out writs for a Parliament, to be held the 18th of September.

A convocation summoned.

And the Archbishop had more good work upon the anvil to do for religion and the Church, had the King lived, and he remained in place. For June 19, a command came from the King to the Archbishop for holding a convocation: and accordingly the Archbishop issued out his letters of order to Ridley, bishop of London, for a convocation to be held in St. Paul's, September 19 ensuing. The Archbishop's said letters were dated July 3. And Bishop Ridley issued out his letters, bearing date July 6: which were not executed, the King dying that day. But by the way, this makes it plain, that Ridley, however he was in design, was never actually bishop of Durham: because the very last day of the King's life, he styled himself in the said letters, *Nicolaus, miseratione divina, London. episcopus.*

Regist. Rid.

A new edition of the Bible.

This year Coverdale set forth another edition of the holy Bible, entitled, *The whole Bible of the Old and New Testament, faithfully translated into English, by Miles Coverdale: and newly overseen and correct,* M.D.LIII. 2 Thes. iii. *Pray for us, that the word of God may have free passage, and be glorified. Set forth with the King's most gracious licence.* The epistle dedicatory was to the King. And M. Coverdale had an epistle also there to the Christian reader.

The catechism.

The books of Bishop Ponet and Becon.

And a licence of privilege was granted unto John Day, printer, for the printing a catechism in English, with the brief of an A. B. C. thereunto annexed: and also for the printing and reprinting of all such works and books, as were devised and compiled by the right reverend father in God, John, now bishop of Winton, and by Thomas Becon, 427 professor of divinity. So that no such books, nor any part of them, be in any wise repugnant to the holy scriptures, or the proceedings in religion, and the laws of the realm. This licence was dated at Westminster, March 25.

A licence also was indulged to Richard Tothel, printer,

to print all manner of books of the common law of this realm, for seven years: so as the first copies thereof be allowed by one of the justices of the law, or two sergeants, or three apprentices of the law: whereof one to be a reader in the court, &c.

Anno 1554. Licence for printing law books.

And Thomas Sternhold, one of the King's servants, set forth his Psalms: being a collection of some of David's Psalms, which he, for his own private entertainment, had composed into English verse, and set them to tunes, and had sung and played by himself, for his own godly solace. These gave the young King, sometimes overhearing them, much pleasure: which was the reason of Sternhold's dedicating them to the King; though they seemed not to be published until after his death. His book was entitled, *All such Psalms of David as Tho. Sternhold, late groom of the King's Majesty's robes, did in his life-time draw into English metre.*

Sternhold's Psalms.

The King's sales this last year of his reign, besides what were set down before, were as follow:

The King's sales this year.

	£.	s.	d.
In Mar.	1072	13	5 *ob.*
	236	10	4
In Apr.	704	13	9
	1554	12	1
	234	8	0
	980	17	0
	615	10	1
	1330	0	0
	1161	19	5
	1334	19	6
	893	6	7
	3102	7	0 *ob.q*
	1681	13	7
	1717	8	4
	190	16	0
	1709	29	8

	£.	s.	d.
In Apr.	1406	10	1
	388	17	1
	1440	7	2
	395	6	8
	303	18	7
	756	1	5 *ob.*
	1736	13	7 *ob.*
	3302	6	8
	585	16	0
In May,	1989	6	8
	435	4	5
	301	5	0
	949	7	3
	1797	7	9
	783	8	2
	1049	9	4

BOOK II.

Anno 1553.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
In May,	589	6	0	In June,	3708	11	9
	497	11	8		699	18	1
	564	14	11 *ob.*		1667	0	0
	727	3	7		615	14	10 *ob.*
	531	0	0		129	7	11
	1072	13	5 *ob.*		125	0	0
	735	17	1		1119	13	4
	1608	14	0 *ob.*		1382	3	0 *ob.q.*
	630	7	6		687	6	6
	1926	3	9 *ob.*		1491	7	1
	718	8	8		81	13	4
	1402	13	1 *ob.*		362	3	2
	270	0	0		442	15	2
	4221	11	5		1951	14	9 *ob.*
	773	0	4		1704	0	4
	3972	9	4 *ob.*		436	12	7
					303	18	7
428					510	13	10
In June,	2132	3	9		1108	15	0
	126	6	4		1928	4	3
	414	18	4		366	13	4
	733	12	6		1095	6	8
	775	19	0 *ob.*				
	834	14	3				
	212	17	10	In July,	500	15	7 *ob.*
	307	4	2				

These were the distinct sums of money for the several purchases of the King's lands, sold by the commissioners in the months beforesaid, besides many other, which the King parted with of free gift.

One cruelly whipped for seditious words.

The mouths of the common people were now full of murmurings upon the King's continual wasting sickness, and many forbore not to talk broadly against some, of using unfair ways for despatching the King out of the world: on whom condign vengeance was taken. And June 30, a young fellow was whipped cruelly, by a new invention, for *pretended visions, and opprobrious and seditious words:*

which, very probably, were about the King's sickness, and against the Duke of Northumberland's practices, and the putting by the King's two sisters from succeeding to the crown. The invention was this: a post was set up by the standard in Cheap, to which he was tied with a collar of iron about his neck, fastened to a chain, and that chain fastened to the post; and two men with two whips whipping him about the said post.

CHAP. XXII.

Anno 1553.

It was wonderful also to think how frequent the reports flew about that the King was dead, some months before his death happened; as though there were some ground for the fame. The Council-Book mentions the several times when examinations were had of these reports, and the persons that spread them. Anno 1553, April 22, one Bodynham; April 26, Alice Hill; May 5, a man and two women; May 21, Christopher Moor, and three others; May 27, John Saunders; were examined, and convicted, and punished, by order of the Council, for reports concerning the King's death, and the like lewd speeches.

Frequent reports of the King's death.

N. Battely.

The last winter the King fell sick of a cough, which brought him into a consumption of the lungs: and so he lingered, and grew worse and worse. Yet sometimes there seemed to appear great hope of his recovery, as there did in May; whereof the Duke of Northumberland, in a letter to Secretary Cecyl, wrote with seeming great joy, as was shewed before; till July 6, when he piously left an earthly crown for an heavenly.

The King's sickness and death.

That he died by poison, would not out of the people's minds and mouths; as may appear by what I find in a journal kept by one in those times: where the King's death is thus by him set down, soon after Queen Mary's coming to the crown. "July 6, deceased the noble King Edward VI. in the "seventh of his reign. And he was poisoned, as everybody "saith. Where now, thanks be to God, there be many of "the traitors brought to their end. And, I trust God, "more shall follow, as they shall be spied out." And the like seemeth to be hinted in Gabriel Harvey's *Musarum*

429

Suspected to be by poison.

Vitellius, F. 5.

BOOK II. *Lacrymæ;* where, occasionally speaking of King Edward's death, he thus expresseth it:

Anno 1553.

——————Morbo tabescens aurea proles:
Pulmonem absumptum medici dixere. Quid ad nos?

Whether poisoned.

This report of King Edward's being poisoned ran abroad not only through this nation, but into other countries: and Papists soon took it up, and made their use of it, to reproach the Reformation. So did Osorius, bishop of Sylva, in the kingdom of Portugal, in his letter wrote to Queen Elizabeth, soon after her access to the crown; affirming expressly, that that King was heinously poisoned in his childhood. But he that was his answerer, a grave and knowing man, Dr. Walter Haddon, that knew very much of the matters of the Court and those times, being himself a courtier, esteemed this report to be but a fable, raised by idle people, and carried about by such as favoured Popery. For these are his words in answer to this rumour, which he wrote near twenty years after, and might then be supposed to speak the truth without fear: "Can you, being a Portugal born, so impudently defame our region with that horrible crime, "without all likely or probable proof, now that twenty "years be spent and gone, when as no sober or discreet English man did ever conceive any such thought in his mind? "The physicians reported that he died of a consumption: "the same was affirmed by the grooms of his privy chamber, which did keep continual watch with the sick King. "All his subjects did believe it for a confessed truth: neither could your slanderous fable have been blown abroad, "but among tattling women, foolish children, and such "malicious English losels, like unto you. Nor yet could "this rotten unsavoury cavil have had any discreet author, "had it not been whispered into the ears of Osorius."

Fol. 27.

Reported to be dead divers days before.

The King's death was reported divers days before it happened, the reporters being chiefly his enemies; and the reports thereof fled beyond the seas; nay, even when there were hopes conceived of his recovery: for so, it seems, they

had but six days before his departure. For the allaying of which rumours, the Council wrote to the ambassadors abroad, who could not tell what to think of it themselves, "That "because they thought the lewdness of some sort of men, "both here at home and abroad, was such, as either for "lightness, or for contentation of their own malice, made "evil false reports of the King's estate, (which God preserve,) "they did assure them, that, thanked be God, his Majesty "was alive, whatsoever evil men did write or spread abroad: "and, as they trusted and wished, his estate and toward-"ness of recovery out of his sickness should shortly appear, "to the comfort of all good men: of which matter they "assured them, as well for their own [the said ambassa-430 "dors] satisfaction, as for the answer of others." This was writ July 1, from Greenwich.

CHAP. XXII.

Anno 1553.

But eight days after, a letter of a sadder accent came from the same Council to Sir Philip Hoby, to this tenor:

The Council report the King's death to Hoby the ambassador.

"After our hearty commendations. We must needs be "sorry at that which cometh both from us, and goeth to "you, with such extreme sorrow, as the like never passed "under these our hands. But such is the almighty will of "God in all his creatures, that his order in time may not be "by us resisted. In one word, we must tell you a great "heap of infelicity: God hath called out of this world our "sovereign Lord, the 6th of this month, towards night: "whose manner of death was such, toward God, as assureth "us that his soul is in place of eternal rest. His disease "whereof he died was of the putrefaction of the lungs, "being utterly uncurable of this evil. For the importance "we advertise you, knowing it to have most comfort to have "been thereof ignorant. And the same ye may take time "to defer to the Emperor, as from us, who know assuredly, "that his Majesty will sorrow and condole with us, for the "departure and loss of a Prince of that excellency, and so "dear a brother and friend: not doubting but that his "Majesty will have in remembrance the ancient amity that "hath been always betwixt their ancestors. For considera-"tion whereof, ye shall assure him, that there shall not be

BOOK II.

Anno 1553.

"any thing lacking on our parts, but all readiness to obey "and maintain the same. And so we wish to us all the comfort of God's Spirit in all adversities. July 8, 1553."

Some part of his last will.

Of the King's last will and testament, whereby he excluded his two sisters from the crown, and preferred the heirs of the Duke of Suffolk, enough is said in other historians. But as to the other points of his last will, it may not be an unnecessary search to inquire after them. Some satisfaction may be had herein, from a certain paper which I have seen, and hereunder inserted a copy of, as I transcribed it from a manuscript of Secretary Peter's own hand, being a rough draught taken by him from the King's mouth, entitled,

"*To be contained in my last will, as parcel thereof:*

MSS. G. P. Armig.

"First, That during the young years of any my heirs or "successors, my executors shall not agree to enter into any "wars, except upon occasion of invasion to be made by "enemies: nor, to the best of their powers, shall suffer any "quarrels to be unjustly pyked by our subjects, whereby "any new war may ensue.

"Second, Our said executors shall not suffer any piece "of religion to be altered. And they shall diligently travail "to cause godly ecclesiastical laws to be made and set forth; "such as may be agreeable with the reformation of religion "received within our realm. And that done, shall also cause "the canon laws to be abolished.

"Thirdly, Our said executors shall not only follow the "devices already begun and agreed upon for the payment "of our debts, but also by other good means devise for the "speedy payment of our said debts.

431 "Fourthly, They shall consider to be discharged all superfluous charges, both in the excessive expences of our "household and chamber, and in the over-great number of "courts, by uniting the same according to the statute provided in that behalf, and such other superfluous charges.

"Fifthly, My will is, that my sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, "shall follow the advice of my executors, or the more part

" of them, in their marriages. And if they so do, and will " be bound to live in quiet order, according to our appoint- " ment, and as by our said executors shall be appointed, " we will, that they, and either of them, shall have of our " free gift, 1000*l.* yearly, by way of annuity, out of our " coffers. And if they do marry by the advice of our said " executors, or the more part of them, that then we will, " that either of them shall have towards their marriages, of " our gift, 10,000*l.* over and above the money for the mar- " riages given by our father's bequest.

" Sixthly, Our pleasure is, that our said counsellors shall " not agree to give any lands or tenements to any person in " fee-simple, or fee-tail, other than excheated lands: neither " shall they grant any lands in fee-farm, nor annuities, but " only to such as have served us, or shall serve our succes- " sors for the time being, in some place of special trust: nor " any leases in reversion to any other than to the servants of " our successors for the time being.

" All our debts to be paid with as much speed as can be.

" All injuries, if any have been done, to be recompensed; " and the parties, their heirs, or children, recompensed, ac- " cording to equity and good justice.

" The college of St. John's in Cambridge to have of our " gift in land, 100*l.* by year, towards maintenance of their " charges[a].

" A new college to be erected, to be endowed in lands to " the double yearly rent of the said college of St. John's: to " be builded up, and made by discretion of our executors, " within the space of seven years.

" The grant made to the mayor and city of London, " touching the Savoy, and lands thereof, to be performed.

" All such as have grants of us, of any lands, offices, or " fees, to enjoy our grants.

" All such as have paid their monies upon any bargain " for lands, to have their books and bargains performed.

" To be bestowed in highways, and to the poor, by dis- " cretion of the executors, the sum of

" The king my father's tomb to be made up. All monu-

[a] This was out of good-will to Cecil, his secretary, and Cheke, his tutor, both of St. John's college.

BOOK II.

"ments to be made of the burials of Edward IV. and King "Henry VI."

Anno 1553.

By which parcel of the King's will, may be judged his royal wisdom and prudence, his religion and justice, his piety to his ancestors, his gratitude, charity, and liberality.

The King's funerals.

His funerals were solemnized at Westminster, Aug. 8: whereat were expressed, by all sorts of people, such signs of sorrow for his death, by weepings and lamentations, as the like was scarce ever seen or heard upon the like occasion. The solemnity was thus performed. First of all went a great company of children in their surplices, and clerks and priests, singing: then his father beadsman: and then two 432 heralds: next, a standard with a dragon: then a great number of his servants in black: then another standard, with a white greyhound: after this, a great number of his officers: after them followed more heralds: then a standard, with the head officers of his house: and then heralds. Mr. Norroy, one of the kings at arms, bare the helmet and the crest on horseback: and then the great banner of arms in embroidery, with divers other banners. Then came riding Mr. Clarencieux, another king of arms, with his target, his garter, and his sword, gorgeous and rich: and after, Mr. Garter, the third and chief king of arms, with his coat armoury in embroidery: then more banners of arms: then came the chariot, with great horses trapped with velvet to the ground, every horse having a man on his back in black, and every one bearing a bannerol of divers of the King's arms, and with escutcheons on their horses. The chariot was covered with cloth of gold. And on the body lay the effigies, lying piteously, with a crown of gold, and a great collar, his sceptre in his hand, clothed with his robes, and the garter about his leg, and a coat in embroidery of gold. About the corpse were borne four banners; a banner of the Order, another of the Red Rose, another of Queen Jane, another of the Queen's mother. After him went a goodly horse, covered with cloth of gold unto the ground, and the Master of the King's horse leading him after the corpse: and another goodly horse, with a man of arms in armour; which, both man and horse,

Offic. Armor. l. 11. p. 117. b.

was offered. Then followed the Marquis of Winchester, being chief mourner; and next, the twelve other mourners, two and two, *viz.* six earls and six barons: the earls were, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Sussex, Bath, and Pembroke; the barons were, the Lords Burgavenny, Windsor, Borough, Barkley, Stourton, and Cobham. A majesty was set up for him in the chapel at Whitehall, and another in Westminster-abbey, with three standards, the lion, the dragon, and the greyhound; thirteen banners, and a few other plainer bannerols and pensils, and hung about with velvet. The whole charge of the funeral amounted to 475*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.* too thrifty and penurious an expence for the last respects due to so brave a Prince. Dr. Day, late bishop of Chichester, preached the funeral sermon, and Archbishop Cranmer, however now under a cloud, celebrated his burial after the reformed way, by the English Service-Book. To which was joined a communion, by him also administered, though after much opposition, as we are told: which was the last public office, I suppose, that Archbishop performed.

Hist. Reform. vol. ii. p. 244.

I shall not make any reflections myself upon the loss of this admirable Prince, but only repeat what a foreigner observed soon after his death: for his accomplishments and virtues were known abroad as well as at home. Cœlius Secundus Curio, a man of learning and eminence in the city of Basil, and father-in-law to Hieronymus Zanchy, (in his epistle dedicatory to Sir Anthony Cook, before Sir John Cheke's book of the Pronunciation of Greek,) hath these words concerning the hopefulness of this King, by the means of both their happy instructions of him: *Vos, communibus votis, consiliis, industria, summæ ac plane divinæ spei Regem formabatis. A vobis ille divinus puer,* &c. That is, "You, by your united prayers, counsels, and industry, "formed a King of the highest, even of divine hopes. 433 "From you did the godlike youth receive that instruction, "which neither Cyrus, nor Achilles, nor Alexander, nor "any other king, ever received more polite, more holy: "which had he lived to adult years to make use of, and had "come therewith to the government of the kingdom, nor

A foreigner's character of the King.

BOOK II.

Anno 1553.

"had been snatched away before, by an immature death; "what realm on earth had been happier? what nation had "ever been more blessed? But God was minded only to "shew him to the world, and suffer him no longer to abide "in it. The English nation would have seemed to have "been too happy," &c.

The King commended by Cooper, the schoolmaster of Magdalen college, who was afterwards bishop of Lincoln.

And, if you please, take some further character of him and his tutors, from the words of one in an epistolary address to him, when he presented him with a new edition of Sir Thomas Eliot's Dictionary: "What subject, endued "with common sense and reason, doth not even now, in these "your tender years, perceive your godly inclination, dis-"posed so to rule and govern us in virtue and true religion, "that of all nations we may judge ourselves to be most "happy and fortunate? For these things chiefly we are "bound daily on our knees with lowly hearts to give most "humble thanks to God, who pitying our state, of a singu-"lar favour and mercy towards this realm of England, sent "you to reign over us.——Such and so excellent instruc-"tors were provided for your Highness, as scantly the like "in virtue and learning may in any place be founden: "whose godly instruction and virtuous counsels, how ef-"fectually they take place in your sacred Majesty's breast, "it doth right well appear to all them that attend upon "your royal person, by the sage and godly talk that pro-"ceedeth from your most gracious mouth. We here abroad "by your most godly proceedings evidently perceive, how "your Grace willeth, that your dear uncle, and other most "honourable counsellors and ministers, should endeavour "and apply themselves, first to set up true religion, to "God's honour and glory, to abolish idolatry and superstiti-"tion; and then constantly to proceed forth to the advance-"ment of the commonweal: that is, truly to administer "justice, to restrain extortion and oppression, to set up "tillage and good husbandry, whereby the people may in-"crease and be maintained. Your godly heart would not "have wild beasts increase, and men decay; ground so en-"closed up, that your people should lack food and suste-

"nance; one man by shutting in of fields and pastures to "be made, and an hundred thereby to be destroyed. Oh! "godly heart. Oh! Prince most worthy to reign, not over "two or three realms, but over the whole world. Such "talk hath seldom been heard of princes of full age, per-"fect discretion, and long reign.

"Wherefore the unestimable comfort and joy that all "your loving subjects do take at this your wise and discreet "devising and communing, and many other lovely sparks "and certain tokens of virtue and Christian regiment, can-"not be sufficiently expressed. Yea, undoubtedly many "English hearts have conceived an unfeigned hope, that "your Majesty, shewing yourself so sage, so grave, so pru-"dent in your tender youth, should, as very Solomon, by "wisdom bring the world from tumult and ruffling to rest-"ful quietness, from war to peace, from hatred and discord "to love and amity, from contentious sects and opinions to 434 "one Christian unity and true religion. Surely, I say, "many are fully persuaded, that the eternal wisdom and "secret counsel of God hath ordained your Highness this "to do, to his great honour, your immortal praise, and the "weal and profit of your loving subjects." These words are sufficient to shew the spirit and temper, the wisdom and parts of his youth, when he had not been above three or four years King, even while his uncle the Duke was alive, when this address was made. And these were the mighty expectations the honest and good part of the nation had of him. But his untimely death prevented all.

His Latin epistles and declamations.

The learning of this young King, while he was Prince, did appear by divers letters in Latin, which I have seen, fairly written by his own hand: whereby not only his proficiency in that language is shewn, but also his ingenuity, wit, sweetness of temper, courtesy, and sense of religion shined forth. Some of these epistles were writ to his royal father the King, some to his mother Queen Katharine, some to his sisters, Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth, some to his uncle the Protector, one to the Archbishop of Canterbury,

BOOK II. Anno 1553.

another to Day, bishop of Chichester, divers to Dr. Cox, his preceptor and almoner, as he styled him. I have seen also some of his scholastical exercises in declamations, or orations, upon several subjects; which do shew his invention, handsome style, his reasoning, and his reading too, especially in Tully. And all the abovesaid letters writ in the year 1546, when he was not ten years old: and the orations composed by him when not fully twelve. A specimen of these, both epistles and orations, will very acceptably entertain the reader, to be found in the Repository: where I have exactly transcribed some of them from the originals.

L.

His book in French against the Pope.

To which I must add, that he was not unacquainted with the French tongue: in which he arrived to that degree before he was twelve years old, that he composed a tract, consisting of thirty-seven leaves in quarto, against the papacy, and the usurpations over the Christian Church, and the idolatry and gross errors brought in by popes, and upholden by them. The title he gave this his book, written on the top of the first page, was, *L'encontre les Abus du Monde:* that is, *Against the Abuses of the World.* Meaning the abuses imposed upon the faith and worship of Christians by the Pope; whom he calleth Antichrist. It begins thus:

"Nous *pouvons tresbien voir* et appercevoir par l'experi-
"ence du monde, que la nature humaine est prone [*prompte,*
"writ over by the French master] a tous maux, et embrouil-
"lée de tous vices. Car quel pais y a il au monde, auquel
"n'y ait quelque vice et abus: principallement au temps
"present: veu que maintenant le grand empire de l'Anti-
"christ est en vogue. Lequel est la sourse de tout mal et
"la fontaine de toute abhomination, et vray filz de diable.
"Pource que quand Dieu est envoye icy bas son filz unique
"pour nostre infirmité, afin de reconcilier le monde a soy
"par la mort d'yceluy, le diable changea des lors les insti-
"tutions de Christ en traditions humaines, et perverti les
"escritures a son propos par le Pape, son ministre," &c.

435 The conclusion is in these words: "Conclusion, et cin-
"quiesme partie. En la primiere partie de nostre livre nous

" avons declaré, et prouué, comme Pierre n'estai pas le pri-
" mat de l'Eglise: confutans les raisons papistiques. En la
" seconde, nous avons prouué, quil ne peuent apporter
" [*aleguer*, writ over by the master] quelque vraye tesmo-
" guage, que Pierre ait esté a Rome. En la troisiesme par-
" tie, nous avons prouué par leurs dictz mesmes, quilz ne
" devroient pas avoir la primauté. En la quatriesme partie,
" nous avons demonstré les prophesies portantes de l'Anti-
" christ. Puis donques, que le Pape est le vray filz de
" diable, homme mauvais, un Antichrist, et tyran.

" Prions tous Seigneur, qu'il conserve ceux, qui ont veu
" la lumiere, en la lumiere; et qu'il monstre a ceux, qui
" sont en tenebres, la vraye, sincere et pure lumiere. A
" celle fin, que tout le monde en ceste vie glorifie Dieu; et
" en l'autre monde soit participant du royaume eternel, par
" Jesus Christ nostre Seigneur. Auquel avec le Pere et le
" Sainct Esprit, soit gloire, honeur, empire, et louange pour
" tout jamais. Amen."

This book (which I speak of) contains the first minutes of the King's writing; and so hath here and there a correction, sometimes of his French master, and sometimes of his own. It hath in the margin of every page various quotations of proper places of Scripture, for proofs of his purpose: which shew how well versed he was in those holy books.

The dedication of this his book, the King made to his uncle, the Duke of Somerset; which began thus:

" Edovard Sixiesme de ce nom, par la grace de Dieu,
" Roy d'Angleterre, France, et Irlande, Defendeur de la
" Foy, et en terre apres Dieu, Chef de l'Eglise d'Angle-
" terre et Irlande: a son tres cher et bien aymé oncle
" Edouard, Duc de Somerset, Governeur de sa personne et
" Protecteur des ses royaumes, pais et subjectz.

" Considerant (tres cher et tres bien aymé oncle) la va-
" nité du monde, la mutabilité du temps, et le changement
" de toutes choses mondaines; commes des richesses, biens,
" honneurs, jeux, et plaisirs: considerant aussi, que telles
" semblables sont," &c.

BOOK II.

Anno 1553.

And now at last, to prove all this book was wholly his own, done *proprio Marte*, and the effect of his parts, without any other help, his French master testified at the end of the tract, under his own hand, in these words following:

"Tout ainsi qu'un bon paintre peut representer le visaige, regard, contenance et corpulence d'un prince: ainsi par les escritz, parolles, et actions d'un prince, on peut facilement entendre quel esprit est en luy, et aquoy il est adonné. Comme on peut veoir par les escritz de ce jeune Roy: lequel compose et escrivit ce liure; n'ayant encores douze ans accomplis: et sans l'ayde de parsonne viuant, excepte de propos qu'il avoit ouys de plusieurs, et de sovenance qu'il avoit des liures qu'il avoit leuz. Car des ce qu'il commenca a escriure le dict liure, et jusques a ce qu'il l'eust acheué, le dict liure a tous jours esté en ma garde, jusques a present." That is,

"Just as a good painter can represent the visage, look, countenance, and bulk of a prince; so by the writings, words, and actions of a prince, one may easily understand
436 "what spirit is in him, and to what he is addicted: as one may see by the writings of this young King, who composed and writ this book, being not yet full twelve years old, and without the help of any person living; except the subject, which he had heard of many, and the remembrance which he had of books that he had read. For from the time he began to write the said book, and until he had finished it, the said book was always in my keeping even to this present."

He began this book, according to the date set down by himself, December 13, 1548, and finished it March 14 following.

Another book in French writ by the King. Hist. Ref. vol. ii. Coll. p. 68.

There is yet another book in French, said to be of his writing, and kept in the library of Trinity college, Cambridge; consisting of places of Scripture, which he had noted in his own English Bible: and afterwards, for his French exercise, had put them all into French, with his own hand, as he signified to the Protector, his uncle: to whom he also dedicated this work of his.

CHAP. XXII.

Anno 1553.

The influence of the King's learning.

I shall add one thing more concerning this King's learning: it is this: that many taking example by him, the nation began strangely to addict itself to arts and diligence, and especially to learning, for the public safety and benefit of the kingdom. And many good books were now set forth, for the use of the commonwealth, and increase of useful knowledge. This, Raphe Robynson, a scholar, acknowledged, sharpened him, and set him on work to translate into English that excellent description of a good commonwealth set down by Sir Thomas More, before spoken of, as in his epistle dedicatory he signified in these words: "Seeing every sort and kind of people in their vocation and "degree is busily occupied about the commonwealth's affairs, "and especially learned men, daily putting forth in writing "new inventions and devices, to the furtherance of the "same, I thought it my bounden duty to God and my "country, to occupy and exercise myself in bestowing such "spare hours as I could conveniently win to myself," &c.

Bale and Bibliander of this King:

To conclude: of this admirable Prince, thus writ Bale: "He did vehemently love the gospel: and to all learned "men he gave harbour and patronage; Germans, Italians, "French, Scots, Spaniards, Poles, &c." Bibliander said of him, "Many wise men believed, that he, as another Solomon, "did aspire to that wisdom and virtue that came from the "celestial throne."

And Fox.

Of King Edward's excellent endowments and abilities, more may be read in the ninth book of the Acts and Monuments of the Church, at the beginning.

And lastly, Sir Thomas Chaloner.

And so I take my leave of him, with the verses that Sir Thomas Chaloner describes his youth, in his heroic poem upon the praises of King Henry his father:

Quis pueri EDWARDI *suavissima pectora, mores*
Ter suaves, pulchri exemplar quod nullus Apelles
Exprimat, et nullo describat Tullius ore,
Condigne hic pergat non digno dicere versu?

And his death, in his second book *De Repub. Anglor. instauranda:* where he thus bewails him, and sets forth his 437

BOOK II. incomparable virtues in verses worthy the noble subject he treats of.

Anno 1558.

Tandem (heu!) lentum invitus surrexit in iram,
Omnia peccantis populi commissa rependens
Unius ablatu pueri, quem Parca beatis
Restituit cœlo, quo lapsus, sedibus, et nos
Destituit manifesta Dei præsentia in illo.
Quem si longa dies plures servâsset in annos,
Si non maturo mors immatura negâsset
Exerere ulterius divinæ pignora dotis,
Tanta tibi, O EDOARDE, *fuit tum gratia formæ,*
Indolis et tam rara usque ad miracula virtus,
Ingenio docti curam superante magistri,
Tanta tibi et morum probitas, ubi mite sereni
Principis effulsit specimen puerilibus annis
Gratius, ingenuo sacrum os ornante pudore,
Verbaque vel duras blande penetrantia cautes;
Tanta, inquam, fuerant congesta hæc omnia in unum
Dona Deûm, ut merito post sæcla effœta creâsse
Delicium humani generis natura putetur.
Quo duce, Brittannis illa aurea tempora rursus
Lacte amnes, et melle rubos signata redirent,
Quando iterum nostris errarent Dii quoque sylvis,
Dii faciles, lustrata novis altaria donis,
Quique pias grato spectarent sydere palmas,
Et genti annuerent restaurato ordine longum
Relligione, togæ studiis florescere, et armis.

\- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Dignus eras triplices canus qui vivere in annos
Nestoris, ipse decem qui Nestoras unus obires,
Cujus et imperio totus se subderet orbis.

CHAP. XXIII. 438

A view of the manners of all sorts of men in these times: nobility: gentry: yeomanry: judges: the poor: the clergy.

AND now let us stay a little, and look back upon the times in which this King reigned. How good soever he was, and what care soever was taken for the bringing in the knowledge of the gospel, and restoring Christ's true religion, the manners of men were very naught; especially of a great sort of them. Anno 1553. The manners of all sorts of men in these days, naught.

Among the grandees and noblemen, many were insatiably covetous; which appeared partly, in raising their old rents: which made Latymer use to call them *step-lords*, instead of *land-lords*: which was done in this proportion, that what had gone before for 20*l.* or 30*l.* a year, (which was an honest portion to be had in one lordship, from other men's sweat and labours,) was now let for 50*l.* or 100*l.* a year. And this caused that dearth that continued for two or three years in the realm, or more, notwithstanding God sent plenteously the fruits of the earth. Provisions were unreasonably enhanced in their prices, occasioned by this raising of rent by the landlords; for then the tenants might reasonably, and did, raise the prices of their commodities, as pigs, geese, bacon, chickens, eggs, &c. as well as grain, and the fruits of the earth, and cattle. Another evil hereof was, the impoverishing of the yeomanry, which was the chief stay of the nation: for out of the yeomen proceeded soldiers for the King's wars; husbandmen, for improving land for the producing fruits and corn: seamen, for the King and the merchants' ships; supplies of people, for the trades and occupations of the city; and scholars, to be sent to the Universities, to be bred up clergymen, for the services of the Church. But this rank of men, so serviceable to the Church and State, that used to be of good wealth, and live in a plentiful condition, was brought down to low and mean circumstances by these racked rents. The nobility and gentry covetous. The yeomanry.

BOOK II.

Anno 1553.

The wealth of yeomen formerly.

To give an instance: Latymer's father was a yeoman of Leicestershire, and had no land of his own; only he had a farm of three or four pounds a year at the utmost. And hereupon he tilled so much, as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for an hundred sheep, and his mother milked thirty kine: he was able, and did find the King a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the King's wages. Latymer remembered how he buckled his father's harness when he went to Blackheath field. He kept this his son at school, until he was fit for the University, and maintained him there. He married his daughters with five pounds or twenty nobles apiece. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours; and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this he did out of the said farm.

439 Whereas he that had the same farm in King Edward's days paid sixteen pounds by the year, or more, and was not able to do any thing for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor. All this Latymer thought not amiss to say in one of his court-sermons, the more to expose this evil of racked rents.

First sermon before the King.

Enclosures.

Again, the covetousness of the gentry appeared, as in raising their rents, so in oppressing the poorer sort by enclosures; thereby taking away the lands, where they had used, and their forefathers, to feed their cattle for the subsistence of their families; which was such an oppression, that it caused them to break out into a rebellion in the year 1549.

No redress at the law for the poor.

Another way they had of oppressing their inferiors was, when these were forced to sue them at the law for some wrong they had done them, or for some means which they violently detained from them. For either they threatened the judges, or bribed them, that they commonly favoured the rich against the poor, delayed their causes, and made the charges thereby more than they could bear. Oftentimes they went home with tears, after having waited long at the court, their causes unheard. And they had a common saying then, *Money is heard every where:* and if a man were rich, he should soon have an end of his matter.

CHAP. XXIII

Anno 1553.

Latymer speaks for them to the King and great men.

In fine, the poor were so oppressed by these means, that Latymer, now aged, and a great court-preacher, and of authority with the King, and many of the great men, was never almost without poor suitors, that came to him to speak to the great men, that their matters might be heard; complaining to him, at what great costs and charges they had laid, to their undoing: insomuch as being at the Archbishop of Canterbury's house, where he used often to reside, he had no time so much as to look in his book, as he told the King in his sermon. This countenancing of the rich men against the poor, was occasioned partly from the servants of the King's great officers, who did use to commit the hearing and examining of causes to them. Wherefore Latymer took the confidence in one of his sermons, to advise the King to hear causes himself; and so he advised the Protector, and the Lord Chancellor, who left matters to others to hear and determine. He bade them, in God's behalf, to sit upon the bench themselves, and not to put all to the hearing of *velvet coats* and *upskips*, as he termed them.

The judges.

For the judges also, some of them at least, were very corrupt, and would sell justice for money. A great man kept certain lands from a gentlewoman, and would be her tenant in spite of her teeth. She tarried a whole year in town for a hearing against him, and could get but one day; when the great man brought a great sight of lawyers on his side: the woman had but one on hers, and he threatened and frowned upon by the great man. And when the matter was to come to a point, the judge himself was a mean to the gentlewoman, that she would let the other have her land. That she could have done at first, without all that waiting and charge, if she had seen it convenient for her so to have done. And this was all the relief she could have, that her judge became a pleader on her adversary's behalf. Latymer did more than once complain before the King of the judges, and would himself give them many a jerk in his sermons. Once he said, "that if a judge should ask him 440
"the way to hell, he would shew him this way. First, let
"him be a covetous man: then, let him go a little further,

BOOK II.

Anno 1553.

"and take bribes: and lastly, pervert judgment. There "lacketh a fourth to make up the mess, which, so God "help me, if I were judge, should be *hangum tuum*, a Tyburn tippet, to take with him, if it were the judge of "the King's Bench, the Lord Chief Justice of England. "yea, if he be my Lord Chancellor himself: to Tyburn "with him." I suppose he might in these words glance at these men, or some of them, as not clear in this charge. And again, speaking of an evil judge that took bribes, "He would wish, that of such a judge in England now, we "might have his skin hanged up: it were a goodly sight, "the sign of the judge's skin. It should be Lot's wife to "all judges that follow after."

Fifth sermon before the King.

The miseries of the poor.

The miseries also of the poor, and the wrongs and hardships they endured, occasioned by the covetousness of the rich, were set forth by another preacher in these days, in a sermon before the King. "Look," saith he, "in all countries, "how lady avarice hath set on work altogether mighty men, "gentlemen, and all rich men, to rob and spoil the poor, "to turn them from their livings and from their right: "and ever the weakest go to the walls. And being thus "tormented and put from their right at home, they come "to London a great number, as to a place where justice "should be had: and there they can have none. They are "suitors to great men, and cannot come to their speech. "Their servants must have bribes, and they no small ones. "All love bribes: but such as be dainty to hear the poor, "let them take heed lest God make it as strange to them, "when they shall pray. *Who stoppeth his ear at the crying "of the poor, he shall cry, and not be heard*, Prov. xxi. God "reproveth them, that it is so hard for the poor to have "access to them; and coming into their presence, are so "astonied and speechless, with terrible looks.—Oh! with "what glad heart and clear consciences might noblemen "go to rest, when they had bestowed the whole day in "hearing Christ himself complain in his members, and in "redressing their wrongs! But alas! what lack thereof! "Poor people are driven to seek their right among the

Bern. Gilpin's sermon before the King.

No relief from the rich:

Nor the lawyers.

"lawyers: and there, as the Prophet Joel saith, what the "caterpillar hath left in their robbery and oppression at "home, all that do the greedy locusts, the lawyers, devour "at London. They laugh with the money which maketh "others to weep. And thus are the poor robbed on every "side without redress; and that of such as seem to have "authority thereto.

"When Christ suffered his passion, there was one Ba-"rabbas, St. Matthew calls him *a notable thief*, a gentleman "thief, such as rob nowadays in velvet coats. The other "two obscure thieves, and nothing famous; the rustical "thieves were hanged, and Barabbas was delivered. Even "so nowadays the little thieves are hanged that steal for "necessity; but the great Barabbases have free liberty to "rob and spoil without all measure in the midst of the "city.—Alas! silly, poor members of Christ, how you be "torn, oppressed, pulled, haled to and fro on every side! "Who cannot but lament, if his heart be not flint! There "be a great number every term, and many continually, "which lamentably complain for lack of justice; but all in "vain. They spend that which they had left, and many 441
"times more: whose ill success here [at London] causeth "thousands to tarry at home beggars, and lose their right. "And so it were better, than here to sell their coats. For "this we see, such is the poor man's cause, though never "so manifest a truth, that the rich shall for money find six "or seven counsellors stand with subtilties and sophisms to "cloak an ill matter, and hide a known truth. A piteous "case in a commonwealth!"

Oppressing landlords.

And again, concerning the great oppression of landlords towards their tenants, by turning them out of all, to their utter undoing, thus he spake: "Now the robberies, extor-"tions, and open oppressions of covetous cormorants have "no end nor limits, no banks to keep in their vileness. As "for turning poor men out of their holds, they take it for "no offence, but say, their land is their own: and so they "turn them out of their shrouds like mice. Thousands in "England, through such, beg now from door to door, who

BOOK II.

Anno 1553.

"have kept honest houses.—These," he added, "had such "quick smelling hounds, that they could live at London, "and turn men out of their farms and tenements an hun- "dred, some two hundred miles off. Oh! Lord, what a "number of such oppressors, worse than Ahab, are in Eng- "land, *which sell the poor for a pair of shoes*, Amos ii. "Of whom, if God should serve but three or four as he "did Ahab, to make the dogs lap the blood of them, their "wives and posterity, I think it would cause a great num- "ber to beware of extortion: and yet escaping temporal "punishments, they are sure, by God's word, their blood "is reserved for hell-hounds. England hath had alate some "terrible examples of God's wrath, in sudden and strange "deaths of such as join field to field, and house to house. "Great pity they were not chronicled, to the terror of "others."

Their pretences.

But in the mean time, these mighty and great men said, "that the commonalty lived too well at ease: they grew "every day to be gentlemen, and knew not themselves: "their horns must be cut shorter, by raising their rents, and "by fines, and by plucking away their pastures."

The gentry hated.

And hereby the commonalty came to hate the gentry: for "they murmured, and grudged, and said, that the gen- "tlemen had all; and there were never so many gentlemen "and so little gentleness. And by their natural *logic* they "would reason, how these two *conjugata*, these yoke-fel- "lows, gentlemen and gentleness, should be banished so far "asunder. And they laid all the misery of the common- "wealth upon the gentlemen's shoulders."

Gold hoarded.

In fine, to this pass had *covetousness* brought the nation, that every man scraped and pilled from other; every man would suck the blood of others; every man encroached upon another. It cut away the large wings of charity, and plucked all to herself. She had chested all the old gold in England, and much of the new: which made the foresaid preacher add, "that she had brought it to pass, that there "was never more idolatry in England than at that day; "but the idols were hid, and came not abroad. Alas! no-

"the Prince, said he, (turning his speech to the King,) that "the images of your ancestors, graven in gold, and yours "also, contrary to your mind, are worshipped as gods: "and all the poor lively images of Christ perish in the "streets through hunger and cold." CHAP. XXIII. Anno 1548. 442

Murders.

Many *murders* were in this reign also committed; and the murderers too often escaped, by the favour and affection of the judges. One of the King's searchers executing his office, displeased a merchantman; insomuch, that when he was doing his office, they were at words. The merchantman threatened him. The searcher said, the King should not lose his custom. The merchant goes home and sharpens his woodknife, and comes again, and knocks him on the head, and kills him. This was winked at: they looked through their fingers, and would not see it. "Whether," saith Latymer, according to his coarse style, "it be taken "up with a pardon or no, I cannot tell; but this I am "sure, and if ye bear with such matters, the Devil shall "bear you away to hell." But these words of Latymer gave offence, as reflecting upon the merchant's reputation, and his friends, when this searcher's death, they said, was but a kind of chance-medley. But he understanding this, the next Lord's-day took notice of it, and said, "he in-"tended not to impair any man's estimation or honesty, "and that they that enforced it to that, enforced it not to his "meaning: considering, he said, he *heard* but of such a "thing: and according as he heard, so he took occasion to "say, that no man should bear with another, to the main-"tenance of voluntary and prepensed murder." Of which sort, notwithstanding their mincing the matter into *chance-medley*, he supposed the fact was. "He knew not, he said, "what they called *chance-medley* in the law, for that was "not his study; but he knew what voluntary murder was "before God. If I shall fall out with a man, he is angry "with me, and I with him, and lacking opportunity and "place, we put it off for that season. In the mean time I "prepare my weapon, and sharpen it against another time; "I swell and boil in this passion towards him; I seek him,

BOOK II. Anno 1553.

"we meddle together. It is my chance, by reason my wea-
"pon is better than his, and so forth, to kill him. I gi-
"him his death's stroke in my vengeance and anger. Th
"call I *voluntary murder* by Scripture; what it is in the
"law, I cannot tell." And this, it seems, was the true state of the case between the merchant and the searcher.

More murders.

Another there was, that slew a man in a certain township, and was attached upon the same, and twelve men impanneled. The man had friends, the sheriff laboured the bench. The twelve men stuck at it, and said, except they would disburse twelve crowns, they would find him *guilty*. Means were found that the twelve crowns were paid: the quest came in, and said, *Not guilty*. But it was observed, that some of the bench were afterwards hanged, as a judgment of God upon them for perverting justice. Another murderer was a woman, that brought forth three bastard children at a birth. She wrung their necks, and cast them into a water, and so killed her children. But being arraigned at the bar for it, she was brought in, *Not guilty*, though her neighbours, upon suspicion, caused her to be examined, and she granted all. But the judge was bribed. And yet at the same sessions a poor woman was hanged for stealing a few rags off an hedge, that were not worth a crown. Another time a gentleman was indicted for murder: this man was a professor of the word of God, and
443 fared, probably, the worse for that. He was cast into prison, but persisted in it that he had no hand in that murder; yet he was arraigned at the bar for it, and condemned. Suit was made for his pardon, but it could not be gotten; the sheriffs, or some others, bare him no good-will, and he died for it. Afterward Latymer, being in the Tower, and having leave to come to the lieutenant's table, heard him say, that a man was hanged afterward, that killed the same man for whom this gentleman was put to death.

Divorces.

The nation now became scandalous also for the frequency of *divorces*; especially among the richer sort. Men would be divorced from their wives, with whom they had lived many years, and by whom they had children, that they

might satisfy their lusts with other women, whom they began to like better than their own present wives. That which gave occasion also to these divorces was, the covetousness of the nobility and gentry, who used often to marry their children when they were young, boys and girls; that they might join land to land, possession to possession, neither learning, nor virtuous education, nor suitableness of tempers and dispositions regarded: and so, when the married persons came afterwards to be grown up, they disliked many times each other, and then separation and divorce, and matching to others that better liked them, followed; to the breach of espousals, and the displeasure of God.

Adulteries.

These divorces and *whoredoms* (a great cause of them) had especially stained the last reign, and introduced themselves into this; and prevailed so much, that the compilers of the book of Homilies thought convenient to frame one homily against whoredom and adultery; which, how it spread, and what sense was then generally had of it, may appear by the beginning of that homily: "That though "there were great swarms of vices worthy to be rebuked, "yet above all other vices, the outrageous seas of adultery, "or breaking of wedlock, whoredom, fornication, and un-"cleanness, have burst in, and overspread all the world: "and that it was grown to such an height, that in a man-"ner among some it was counted no sin at all, but rather "a pastime, a dalliance; not rebuked, but winked at; not "punished, but laughed at. Therefore the homily was com-"posed to declare the greatness of this sin; how odious and "abominable before God and all good men; how griev-"ously it hath been punished, both by the law of God and "divers princes: and to shew a certain remedy to escape "this detestable sin." In the second part of this homily the writer speaks of divorces, that then were so common, and shewed the occasion of them: "Of this vice [of whore-"dom] cometh a great part of the divorces, which nowa-"days be so common, accustomed, and used by men's pri-"vate authority, to the great displeasure of God, and the "breach of the most holy knot and band of matrimony.

BOOK II. Anno 1553.

"For when this most detestable sin is once so crept into the "breast of the adulterer, so that he is entangled with an "lawful and unchaste love, straightway his true and lawful "wife is despised, her presence is abhorred, her company "stinketh and is loathsome, whatsoever she doth is dis-"praised: there is no quietness in the house so long as she "is in sight. Therefore, to make short work, she must "away, for her husband can brook her no longer. Thus "through whoredom is the honest and harmless wife put 444 "away, and a harlot received in her stead. And in like "manner it happeneth many times in the wife towards her "husband."

Contentions.

Contention about religion, reading the Scripture, and maintaining doctrines out of it, true or false, with the greatest stiffness one against another, was another vice in this reign. Which was the cause of framing another homily, *viz.* against contention and brawling. "For too many "there were," as that homily expresseth it, "which upon "the ale-bench, or other places, delighted to set forth certain "questions, not so much pertaining to edification, as to "vainglory, and shewing forth their cunning; and so un-"soberly to reason and dispute, that when neither part "would give place to other, they fall to chiding and con-"tention; and sometimes from hot words to further incon-"venience."

Lawsuits.

It was a contentious age, and people seemed to quarrel for trifles, and often would run to the law to vex each other. One lawsuit was commenced upon this ridiculous occasion. The owner of an horse told his friend, that he should have him, if he would. The other asked the price. He said, twenty nobles. The other would give him but four pounds. The owner said, he should not have it then. But the other claimed the horse, because he said he should have it, if he would. This bargain became a Westminster matter. The lawyers got twice the value of the horse: "and when all "came to all, two fools made an end of the matter," as Latymer, according to his manner of speaking, told the King in one of his sermons.

CHAP. XXIII.

Anno 1553.

The clergy.

The clergy also were now generally very bad, from the bishops to the curates. As to the bishops, though some of them were learned and conscientious, yet the rest, and the greater part, were such, that there could be no good *discipline* exercised for the restraint of sin, and for the due correction of swearing, rioting, neglect of God's word, and other scandalous vices. Of the need of *discipline*, and of the danger or insignificancy of committing it to the bishops, the good King was very sensible; as appears by that wise discourse of his, which he wrote, I suppose, in the year 1552. Wherein he saith, "that it were very good that dis-"cipline went forth,..... so that those that should be the "executors of it were men of tried honesty, wisdom, and "judgment. But because those bishops, who should exe-"cute it, some for Papistry, some for ignorance, some for "age, some for their ill name, some for all these, are men "unable to execute discipline, it is therefore a thing un-"meet for these men. Wherefore it were necessary, that "those that be appointed to be bishops, were honest in life, "and learned in their doctrine; that by rewarding such "men, others might be allured to follow their good life." Therefore for the present, he resolved to set up discipline, and yet to keep it out of the hands of ill bishops. As one of this King's memorials for religion, wrote in October 1552, assures us; wherein he made a memorandum "for "commissions to be granted to those bishops that were "grave, learned, wise, sober, and of good religion, for the "executing of discipline." And the bishops had exercised so much dominion and rigour, and been such *Papalins*, that the very name of *bishop* grew odious among the people, and the word *superintendent* began to be affected, and come in the room; and the rather, perhaps, being a word used in the Protestant churches of Germany. This the Papists made sport with. But see what favourable construction one, who was a bishop himself, put upon this practice, and the reason he assigned hereof.

Discipline.

Bishops called superintendents.

445

And why.

"Who knoweth not that the name *bishop* hath been so "abused, that when it was spoken, the people understood

Ponet in answer to Dr. Martin.

BOOK II.

Anno 1553.

"nothing else but a great lord, that went in a white ro-
"chet, with a wide shaven crown, and that carried an oil-
"box with him, wherewith he used once in seven years, rid-
"ing about, to *confirm* children, &c. Now, to bring the
"people from this abuse, what better means can be de-
"vised than to teach the people their error by another
"word out of the Scripture of the same signification. Which
"thing, by the term *superintendent*, would in time have
"been well brought to pass: for the ordinary pains of such
"as were called superintendents, to understand the duty of
"their bishops, which the Papists would fain have bidden
"from them; and the word *superintendent* being a very
"Latin word, made English by us, should in time have
"taught the people, by the very etymology and proper
"signification, what thing was meant, when they heard
"that name, which by this term *bishop* could not so well
"be done; by reason that bishops, in time of Popery, were
"*overseers* in name, but not in deed. I deny not, as that
"notable man proceeded, that that name *bishop* may be
"well taken; but because the evilness of the abuse hath
"marred the goodness of the word, it cannot be denied but
"that it was not amiss to join for a time another word with
"it in his place, whereby to restore that abused word to his
"right signification. And the word *superintendent* is such
"a name, that the Papists themselves (saving such as lack
"both learning and wit) cannot find fault withal." And
then he quoted Peresius the Spaniard, and an arch Papist,
out of whom Martin had stolen a great part of his book;
who, speaking of a bishop, saith, *Primum episcopi munus
nomen ipsum præ se fert, quod est* superintendere. *Epi-
scopus enim* superintendens *interpretatur*. So Ponet. To
the same purpose Tindal before him, in his notes upon that
in Timothy, *He that desireth the office of a bishop, de-
sireth a good work:* "*Bishop*," saith he, "is as much as to
"say, a *seer* to, or a taker heed to, or an *overseer;* which,
"when he desireth to feed Christ's flock with the food of
"health, that is, with his holy word, as the bishops did in
"Paul's time, desireth the good work, and the very office

Tindal's exposition of Bishop.

"of a bishop. But he that desireth honour, gapeth for lucre, "thirsteth for great rents and heart's ease, castles, parks, "lordships, earldoms, &c. desireth not a good work, and is "nothing less than a bishop, as St. Paul here understands "a bishop."

Curates.

The *curates* were both ignorant, and scandalous for their all lives. The people in many places did withhold their tithes from them; and the reason they gave was, because their curates, some were ignorant, and some were idle, and took little care and pains in their cures, and many of them so intolerably bad, lazy, and wicked, that the parishioners oftentimes complained, and brought informations against them to the bishops of the dioceses, nay, to the Council. They would ordinarily say, "Our curate is naught, an "asshead, a dodipot, a lack-latine, and can do nothing. "Shall I pay him tith, that doth us no good, nor none "will do?" The fault of this lay much in patrons: many whereof would choose such curates for their souls, as they might call fools, rather than such as would rebuke their 446 covetousness, ambition, unmercifulness, and uncharitableness; that would be sober, discreet, apt to reprove, and resist the gainsayers with the word of God. Another evil in the clergy nowadays was, that chantry priests, out of good husbandry, to save the King a little money, were taken into dignities and places ecclesiastical; who generally were persons addicted to the old superstitions, notwithstanding their outward compliance. For these, when put out of their places, had pensions allowed them for their subsistence. But as King Henry, to save his pensions, preferred these abbots and priors of dissolved monasteries to bishoprics, and other good places in the Church, however otherwise unqualified sometimes; so now, under King Edward, there were whisperings of saving much money that way, which went out in pensions to the chantry priests, the chantries having been given by the Parliament to this King.

Chantry priests.

The clergy also were much cried out against, for thrusting themselves so much into secular offices, to the great neg-

The clergy take secular places.

BOOK II.

Anno 1558.

lest of their respective cures. For as it was in King Henry's days, so it continued in King Edward's, that many of the prelates and inferior clergy were constituted in secular employments: which the soberer part of the nation much disliked; because by this means their flocks were left without due care of them. They lived in such high state, and in so much grandeur, as did not become such as were devoted to God and the Church. Many occupied in the King's affairs; some were ambassadors; and some of the Privy Council; and some furnished the Court; and some were presidents; [so was Lee, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, president of Wales;] and one, comptroller of the mint: which stuck so much in old Latymer's crop, that in a sermon preached in the shrouds at St. Paul's, he exclaimed against them all, but especially against this comptroller: "Should we," said he, "have ministers of the Church to "be comptrollers of the mint? Is this a meet office for a "priest that hath cure of souls? I would here ask one "question; I would fain know, who comptrolleth the Devil "at home in his parish, while he comptrolleth the mint? "If the Apostle might not leave his office of preaching to "be deacon, shall one leave it for minting? I cannot tell "you, but the saying is, that since priests have been "minters, money hath been worse than it was before; and "they say, that the illness of money hath made all things "dearer."

A priest comptroller of the mint.

The ignorance of the nobility made it necessary to prefer the clergy.

But the reason of this placing religious men in secular offices was, indeed, because the laity, both nobility and gentry, were not fit for such places. They were bred up in so much ignorance and idleness, that the King was forced to employ the clergy, among whom was the learning and the best abilities. And this made the foresaid good old father again to upbraid England for their nobility. "England, I speak it to thy shame, is there never a nobleman "to be lord president, but it must be a prelate? Is there "never a wise man in the realm to be comptroller of the "mint?" Then he asketh this question, "Why are not "the noblemen and young gentlemen of England brought

CHAP. XXIII.

Anno 1553.

"up in a knowledge of God, and in learning, that they "may be able to execute offices in the commonweal?" He "said, "that as the King had a great many *wards*, that "there might be a school for the wards, as well as there is "a *court* for their lands. He was for their being set to "school, and sent to universities, that they might be able "to serve the King when they came to age. The benefit "of this would be, that the gentry would not give them-"selves so much to vanity; and the common people would "be better: for they were bad by following them. There-"fore he exhorted much to have teachers and school-"masters set up, and encouraged by stipends worthy their "pains. He would have them brought up in logic, in rhe-"toric, in philosophy, in the civil law, and especially in the "word of God."

The nobility began to be learned.

Thus it was in the latter part of the reign of King Henry; but since King Edward came to the crown, these things began in a great measure to be remedied. They began to be brought up in learning and godliness, to the great joy and comfort of England: so Latymer, in place abovementioned, observed. "So that there was now good hopes, "he said, that we shall another day have a flourishing com-"monweal, considering their godly education. Yea, that "there were already nobles enough, though not so many "as he would wish, fit to be put into places of trust."

The habit of the clergy.

But to return to the clergy again. Among the rest of whose faults must be added, their affectation of going too costly in their apparel. Some of them ware velvet shoes and velvet slippers. "Such fellows," saith our old Cato, "were more fit to dance the morris-dance, than to be ad-"mitted to preach." We may conclude the rest of their habit was agreeable to that piece of it.

BOOK II.

CHAP. XXIV.

Anno 1553. 448

Observations concerning patrons; the universities; the city and court. Taxes in this reign.

HAVING taken some view of the nobility, gentry, and clergy in these times, let us proceed to make our observations of patrons, of the universities, the city, the court, and so make an end of this book.

Patrons.

Patrons did shamefully abuse their benefices, sometimes by selling them to such as would or could give money for them, or other consideration: sometimes they would fee-farm them: insomuch that when any afterward should have the benefice, there was neither house to dwell in, nor glebe-land to keep hospitality. But the curate was fain to take up his chamber in an alehouse, and there sit, and play at tables all day.

Universities.

Very ill also was the state of the universities now. Here was a mighty decay. Latymer conjectured, that there were ten thousand students less than there was within twenty years before. The reason whereof was, because the revenues of the Church were gone away to laymen, and so little encouragement for the students in divinity. He prayed the King therefore, that he would take order that preaching might not decay; for that if it did, ignorance and brutishness would enter again. Those that were in Cambridge, very few of them studied divinity: no more but just that number that of necessity must furnish the colleges according to the statutes. And the livings there were so small, and victuals so dear, that they tarried not there, but went otherwhere to seek livings. And only great men's sons remained in the colleges, whose fathers intended them not for preachers. So that the said father feared it would come to pass, that they should have nothing but a little English divinity, and that the realm would be brought into very barbarousness, and utter decay of learning. And then he added, "It is not that, I wiss, that will keep out the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome." Upon this he made a suit to his auditors, "that they would bestow so much to

"the finding of scholars of good wits, being the sons of "poor men, to exercise the office of salvation, [he means preaching God's word,] as they were wont to bestow in "pilgrimage matters, in trentals, in masses, in pardons, and "purgatory matters."

CHAP. XXIV.

Anno 1553.

City of London.

But let us leave these places of learning, and go elsewhere, and look upon the great metropolis of England, the city of London; which was much degenerated, especially at the beginning of this King's reign. In times past, the citizens were full of pity and compassion; and when churchmen died, they were wont to appoint some share of their estate in exhibition, for the maintenance of poor scholars in the universities, and for the relief of the poor. But now the poor died in the streets for cold, and laid sick at their doors, and perished for hunger.

Pestered with beggars.

And one reason of this plenty of miserable objects in London was, the destruction of tillage in the country, and the demolishing cottages there: whereby it came to pass, that the poor had neither work nor harbour. And so having no subsistence in the countries, they were fain to come up to get bread, or beg for it in the city. Which made Thomas Lever, a very grave preacher, in a sermon before a solemn auditory, cry out, "O merciful Lord! what a number of "poor, feeble, halt, blind, lame, sickly, yea, with idle va-"gabonds, and dissembling caitiffs mixed among them, lie "and creep begging in the miry streets of London and "Westminster! It is a common custom with covetous "landlords, to let their housing so decay, that the farmer "shall be fain, for a small regard, or none at all, to give up "his lease; that they taking the grounds into their own "hands, may turn all to pastures. So now old fathers, poor "widows, and young children, lie begging in the miry "streets."

449

Decayed in their charity.

And when Latymer was so curious to make inquiry, what helps for poor students were now distributed and sent to the universities, he could hear of little or none; nor of such gifts of charity bequeathed by the richer sort at their deaths as was wont before to be. London also had enjoyed

BOOK II. Anno 1553.

the preaching of the gospel in King Henry's time, more than any other place in the nation, and there sprang up a great harvest of gospellers here. But the city shewed itself first addicted to religion, and too much addicted to superstition, to pride, to malice, to cruelty, and uncharitableness. The latter end of the reign of King Henry, when the Papists swayed all, had a mighty influence upon the city. So that there was a kind of apostasy among the Londoners. Which made old Latymer, so often quoted before, in a sermon preached at the shrouds in St. Paul's before the citizens, cry out, *O London, London, repent, repent.* And such was the vanity, and fickleness, and pride of the inhabitants, that another preacher styled them *butterflies* rather than *burgesses.*

The citizens compared to butterflies.

But this made them clamour much against the preachers for disparaging them. Latymer came up not long after, and vindicated that preacher; speaking thus: "What ado "there hath been in London against this man, for what he "said but too justly. And would God they were no worse "than butterflies. Butterflies do but their nature. The "butterfly is not covetous, is not greedy of other men's "goods, is not full of envy and hatred, is not malicious, is "not cruel. [Meaning to charge all this upon the citizens.] "The butterfly glorieth not in her own works, nor pre-"ferreth the traditions of men before God's; committeth "not idolatry, nor worshippeth false gods. But London "cannot abide to be rebuked: such is the nature of man, "if they be pricked, they will kick; if they be rubbed on "the gall, they will wince. London was never so evil as it "is now." And to the scandal of the Reformation, there were more loose houses in London now in King Edward's days, than ever were before. The Bank, in [Southwark,] when it stood, was never so common for whoredom as the city now. And it went unpunished. And so shameful and wicked were many grown, that some thought a wonder, that London did not sink, and the earth gape and swallow it up.

450 This uncleanness was chiefly confined unto certain places.

Loose houses in London.

that were called *privileged places*, where men might sin with impunity; that is, where the lord mayor had nothing to do, and the sheriffs could not meddle, and the quest did not make inquiry. There men brought their whores, yea, and other men's wives. Here sometimes was blood shed in quarrels about women. A Spaniard killed an Englishman, by running him through with his sword, about a whore; but the Spaniard escaped hanging. Here also were dicing-houses, where idle people used to play, and spend their patrimony: and here many other follies were committed. So that the manly exercises, that used to be among Englishmen without doors and abroad, began to be laid aside, and turned into glosing, gulling, and whoring within doors. And particularly that exercise of shooting, for which this nation had been so famous. This shooting was in time past much esteemed in this realm. "It is a gift of God," said Latymer, "that he hath given us to excel all other nations "withal. It hath been God's instrument, whereby he hath "given us many victories against our enemies. And every "man in former times used to teach his children the practice of it, or to make them practise it; as the law also "enjoined this shooting in the bow. He spake of his father, that he was as diligent to teach him to shoot, as to "learn him any other thing. He taught him how to draw, "how to lay his body in his bow, and not to draw with "strength of arms, as other nations do, but with strength "of the body. And he had his bows brought him according to his age and strength; and as he increased in them, "so his bows were made bigger and bigger: for men could "never shoot well, except they were brought up to it. It "is a goodly art," said he, "a wholesome kind of exercise, "and much commended in physic. And he urged the magistrates, even from the pulpit, and that in the reverence "of God, that a proclamation might go forth, charging "the justices of peace, that they saw such acts and statutes "kept as were made for this purpose."

Shooting in the bow.

The Court.

From the city let us repair to the Court. Here indeed was an excellent King, but he was a minor: and so was too

BOOK II.

Anno 1553.

much imposed upon by his courtiers and officers, who grew rich under him, while he grew poor: insomuch that he fell into debt, and could not pay what he ought. Poor artificers came for money for the works they had done for him, and went away without it. For the King's officers did so rake and scrape to themselves, that without liberal gratifications no money would be parted with. Those that had accounts to make to the King for monies received for the King's use, used to defalcate a part, and put it into their own pockets; and those that took their accounts were gratified, and so they passed their accounts without any further examination. These things the King's preacher (so often mentioned before) knowing well enough, by his converse with the best of the Court, plainly acquainted the King with in his last sermon before him, which was in the year 1550: where in his own person he glanceth at some about the King. "I will "become the King's officer for a while. I have to lay out "for the King 2000*l.* or a great sum, whatsoever it be. "Well, when I have laid it out, and do bring in my ac- "count, I must give 300 mark to [have] my bills war- "ranted. If I have done truly and uprightly, what should
451 "need me to give a penny to my bills warranted? Smell "you nothing in this? What needeth a bribe-giving, ex- "cept the bills be false? Well, such practice hath been in "England; but beware; it will out one day. Beware of "God's proverb. *There is nothing hidden that shall not* "*be opened.* And here now I speak to you, my master "minters, augmentationers, receivers, surveyors, auditors; "I make a petition to you, I beseech you all, be good to "the King. He hath been good to you; therefore be ye "good to him. Yea, be good to your own souls. Ye are "known well enough, what ye were afore ye came to your "offices, and what lands ye had then, and what ye have "purchased since, and what buildings ye make daily. "Well, I pray ye, so build, that the King's workmen may "be paid. They make their moans, that they can get no "money. The poor labourers, gun-makers, powder-makers, "bow-makers, arrow-makers, smiths, carpenters, soldiers,

Some wrong the King.

"and other crafts, cry out for their dues. They be unpaid "some of them three or four months; yea, some of them "half a year; yea, and some of them put up bills this time "twelvemonth for their money, and cannot be paid yet. It "seems ill-favouredly, that ye should have enough where-"with to build superfluously, and the King lack to pay his "poor labourers."

Some make the King restitution.

Some of these cozeners of the King in their offices under him were so touched in conscience, that they, privately some, and some openly, made restitution to him. And that, chiefly, upon occasion of a sermon preached by Latymer at the Court. About the year 1548, in Lent, he preached upon making *restitution*; and that they who had wronged the King must make *restitution*, or else *they would go to the Devil*, to use his plain English. Some indeed, and I suppose the most part, were angry with him for his sermon. "Let him preach contrition," said they, "and let "restitution alone. We can never make restitution." But some were better touched in conscience. So that one came privately to him, and acknowledged he had deceived the King, and sent Latymer that Lent, in part of his restitution, 20*l.* to be restored to the King's use; and promised 20*l.* more that Lent: but it came not; but the Lent after, he sent the 20*l.* and 300*l.* more with it. And Latymer paid it into the King's Council. And the third Lent, the same sent in 180*l.* 10*s.* more: which Latymer paid also into the King's Council. And so, according to his judgment, he made a godly restitution. The Council asked him, who this was; but he concealed him. And Latymer conjectured, that if every one would make such restitution, it would amount to 20,000*l.* Nay, said another, an whole 100,000*l.* Another, named Sharington, came and made open restitution. Whom therefore Latymer called, an honest gentleman, and one that God loved. He openly confessed, that he had deceived the King, and he made open restitution. This was Sir William Sharington; of whom before.

Corruption in coinage.

Money was coined about the year 1549, in quantity less

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

than the current money was before, and yet in value the same. Herein again was a great cheat put upon the subject by the minters: which made old Latymer, in the pulpit, (who would take that opportunity to speak his mind to the King,) give a nip at this new coined money. "We have "now a pretty little shilling; in very deed a pretty one. I "have but one, I think, in my purse, and the last day I
452 "had put it away almost for an old groat, [that being as "big as this new shilling,] and so, I trust, some will take "them. The fineness of the silver I cannot see, [which was "the pretence, that the shilling was less in quantity,] but "therein is printed a fine sentence, [which was to make "amends for the smallness of it,] *Timor Domini fons vitæ* "*vel sapientiæ*." Which was the motto of this coin.

The King wronged in his subsidies.

And when, to help the King's necessities, certain taxes were laid upon the subjects, they found out shifts to cheat the King, and to save their own purses: so that his taxes fell much of what was expected to be brought in. About the year 1549, or 1550, there was a tax, that every man should pay the fifteenth part of his goods to the King. But when the commissioners were sent abroad to take the value of every man's estate, each did exceedingly undervalue what he was truly worth, and gave a false estimate. And he that was worth in cattle, corn, sheep, and other goods, 100 marks, or 100*l.* would give himself in to be worth 10*l.* Another, that was worth 200*l.* besides money and plate, and married his daughter, and gave with her 400 or 500 marks, yet at the valuation was set but at 20*l.* Which, it seems, was an old trick. For in the Cardinal's time, for the preventing of it, men were put to their oaths, to swear what they were worth. "O Lord," saith Latymer, "what per-"jury was in England by that swearing! For, doubtless, "many one wittingly and willingly forsware themselves at "that time. Which course that father therefore called a "*sore thing*, and would not wish to be followed." He knew it would tend more to the King's advantage, and to the safety of his subjects, to make them honest and true, than to administer to them an oath.

Latymer's sermon at Stamford.

Bribery was also very rife, both for ecclesiastical benefices, and civil offices and places. Many indeed would seem to refuse any gifts, when brought to them; but some that were dependents would receive them readily enough, for their masters' use and service. Judges' wives would sometimes take bribes. They had servants *a muneribus*, as Latimer styled them. Such a servant would say, If you come to my master, and offer him a yoke of oxen, you shall speed never the worse; but, I think, my master will take none. When the party had offered something to the master, and he denied to take it, then came another servant, and saith, If you will bring it to the clerk of the kitchen, you shall be remembered the better. Which was like the friars Observant, that would be seen to receive no bribes themselves, but had others to receive them for them. Bribery.

In short, in the Court they took bribes; in the country they oppressed the poor, by raising their rents, taking usury even to forty per cent. Landlords turned graziers, and bought up the grain to sell dear against a hard time. In the city they bought up wood and coals. Some burgesses became regrators also, and some farmers regrated and bought up all the corn in the markets, and laid it up in store, to sell it again at a higher price, when they saw their time. There was a merchant that had travelled all the days of his life in the trade of merchandise, and had got 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* by buying and selling: but in case he might have been licensed to practice *regrating*, he would undertake to get 1000*l.* a year, only by buying and selling grain here within the realm. And in London there were some aldermen that became *colliers* and *woodmongers*. So that there could not a poor body buy a sack of coals, but it must come through their hands. Which made our preacher sue to King Edward, that there might be *promoters*, such as were in King Henry's days, to *promote* [that is, inform against] the King's own officers, when they did amiss; and to promote all other offenders: such as rent-raisers, oppressors of the poor, extortioners, bribers, usurers. But he Abuses.

453

BOOK II.

would have them to be of godly discretion, wisdom, and conscience.

Anno 1553.

Want of discipline the cause of these disorders.

One great reason of all these abuses, corruptions, and gross impieties, that reigned now in the nation, was, the neglect of *ecclesiastical discipline:* which the churchmen either could not or would not execute against immoralities. The manners of men were very bad. And upon occasion of the sins of uncleanness, (for which the nation was very infamous, and especially London, and such lechery as was used in none other places of the world, and yet made but a matter of sport,) hereupon good men wished that the law of Moses might be brought into force, for the punishment of this sin. And Latymer applied himself to the King, to restore discipline unto the Church: "That such as were notable "offenders might be excommunicated, and put from the "congregation, till they be confounded. Which would be "a means, said he, to pacify God's wrath and indignation "against us, and also that less abominations be practised "than in times past have been, and are at this day. Bring "into the Church of England that open discipline of *ex-*"*communication*, saith he, that open sinners may be stricken "withal."

These times and the former compared.

And thus we have taken a sight how dissolute these times were. Not that these days of King Edward were worse than the former; but that now, upon the light of the gospel, these wickednesses, that were not so much regarded before, were now more observed. So the writer of the epistle dedicatory to Erasmus's Paraphrase in English: "Because it is in so great a manner amended, look where "such corruption still remaineth, there doth it better and "more notably appear; as strange things are commonly "more wondered at. For all good and godly folks do now "wonder, that God's word being spread abroad, and being "now almost in every body's hand and mouth so common, "there should be any creature in whom any of the enormi-"ties aforementioned should reign." For though these times were bad, yet they were better than the times before.

CHAP. XXIV.

Anno 1552.

" the aforesaid writer concerning the beginning of King Edward's reign: "Of this young and green foundation, being yet very newly laid, thus much good edifying hath already grown in all persons' consciences, that blasphemy, perjury, theft, whoredom, making of affrays, and other abominations, are more detested than they were in the blind world, very late years gone." And again, "A great many that have hated matrimony, and yet have not hated fornication, incest, adventry, begin now to abhor and manifestly to fly these and other like pestilences, and exercise the contraries."

Taxes.

The taxes that happened in this King's reign, and monies given him by Parliament, may not be improper to be here set down, for the letting in some further light into this history. And to do this, I shall but transcribe a brief computation thereof, done to my hand by Sir Walter Ra- 454 leigh.

Prerogative of Parliaments.

"In the second year of King Edward VI. the Parliament gave the King an aid of twelve pence the pound, of goods of his natural subjects, and two shillings the pound of strangers. And this to continue for three years. And by the statute of the second and third of Edward VI. it may appear, the same Parliament did also give a second aid, as followeth; to wit, of every ewe, kept in several pastures, three pence; of every wether, kept as aforesaid, two pence; of every sheep, kept in the common, three halfpence. The house gave the King also eight pence the pound, of every woollen cloth made for the sale throughout England, for three years. In the third and fourth of the King, by reason of the troublesome gathering of the pole-money upon sheep, and the tax upon cloth, this act of subsidy was repealed, and other relief given the King. And in the seventh year he had a subsidy and two fifteenths."

The expences of the household. MSS. penes me.

I will add here, the sum of the charges of the King's household for one week, beginning Sunday, December 29, in the third year of his reign; which were as follow:

BOOK II.

Anno 1553.

			£.	s.	d.
The charges of the household on	Sunday,	were	149	19	9 *ob. q.*
	Monday,		131	1	8 *ob.*
	Tuesday,		129	3	10 *ob.*
	Wednesday,		164	12	9 *ob.*
	Thursday,		151	16	3
	Friday,		126	17	6
	Saturday,		149	11	0
		Sum total	1003	2	11 *ob.*

The charges of the household for one week, beginning Sunday, March 16, in the same third year of the King, were as follow:

The charges of the household on	Sunday,	were	124	7	4
	Monday,		117	19	0 *q.*
	Tuesday,		112	0	6 *ob.*
	Wednesday,		114	19	3
	Thursday,		117	19	11 *ob.*
	Friday,		118	18	4
	Saturday,		122	1	7
		Sum total	828	6	0 *q.*

I subjoin the expences of the King's household yearly, which were as follow:

The last half year of King Henry VIII. 28080*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* *ob.* And the first half year of King Edward VI. 21107*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*	In all for one whole year	49187	18	8 *ob.*
455 The second whole year of King Edward's reign		46902	7	3
The third year of his reign - -		46100	3	11 *ob. q.*
The fourth year of his reign - -		100578	16	4 *ob.*
The fifth year of his reign - -		62863	9	1 *ob. q.*
The sixth year of his reign - -		65923	16	4 *q.*

During those three last years of the King, his prerogative [of taking up provisions, I suppose, at an easy rate] ceased: which heightened the account of his household expences. CHAP. XXIV. Anno 1553.

To fill up this work, and for a conclusion of these historical collections, as I have hitherto endeavoured to give some account of *things* and *matters* remarkable, so I shall set before the reader the *men*, whether in State or Church, of most eminence for their honours, qualities, or trusts committed to them: and that under several distinct ranks and orders, as follows.

CHAP. XXV.

Creations. The King's counsellors. Courtiers and great officers.

THIS chapter shall shew what creations of noblemen happened in this reign, and give a catalogue of the names of the King's counsellors, lords lieutenants of the counties, and most of the chief officers of the household, or otherwise.

I. For the creations of nobility by this King, I am beholden both to a manuscript of the right reverend father John, late Lord Bishop of Ely, and likewise to the Office of Heralds. The nobles created by him were seventeen. Noblemen created.

DUKES.

1. Edward Seymour Earl of Hertford, and Viscount Beauchamp. Created Duke of Somerset, Feb. 12, 1546. And had issue Edward Earl of Hertford.

2. Henry Grey Marquis of Dorset, Lord Ferrys of Groby, Harrington, Bonvyle, and Aystley. Created Duke of Suffolk, October 11, 1551. He had Henry Lord Harrington, who died without issue, and three daughters.

3. John Dudley Viscount Lysle, Baron of Somerye, Basset, and Teyes, and Lord Dudley. Created Duke of Northumberland, Octob. 11, 1551. Earl of Warwick, Feb. 17, 1546. Then made High Chamberlain of England. Made Earl Marshal of England in the 5th of Edw. VI.

BOOK II. April 20. Had issue Ambrose Earl of Warwick, and Rob. Earl of Leicester, and other sons. He bore a crescent for distinction in his arms.

Anno 1553.

456 MARQUISSES.

4. William Par, Lord Par of Kendal, Marmyon, and S. Quintin. Created Marquis of Northampton by King Edward VI. Feb. 17, 1546. And Earl of Essex by King Henry VIII. And died without issue.

5. William Paulet Lord S. John of Basing. Created Marquis of Winchester, Octob. 11, 1551. And Earl of Wilts, Jan. 19, 1549. And after made Lord Treasurer of England. Bore a crescent in his coat for distinction. He left issue John.

EARLS.

6. Thomas Wriothesly. Created Earl of Southampton, and Lord Wriothesly of Titchfield, Feb. 17, 1546. Of whom descended Henry, his son, Earl of Southampton. [Dugdale makes this, and the other creations about this time, to be Feb. 16, that is, three days before the coronation: which yet happened Feb. 20.]

7. John Russel Lord Russel. Created Earl of Bedford, Jan. 19, 1549. And after made Lord Privy Seal. Had issue Francis Earl of Bedford.

8. William Herbert. Created Baron Herbert of Cardiff, October 10, 1551, and the next day Earl of Pembroke. Father to Henry Earl of Pembroke.

VISCOUNTS.

9. Walter Devoreux, Lord Ferris of Chartley. Created Viscount Hereford, Feb. 2, 1549. Of whom descended Walter Devoreux Viscount Hereford, his grandson, by Sir Richard Devoreux, his son.

BARONS.

10. Gregory Cromwel, son of Thomas Cromwel Earl of Essex, was created Lord Cromwel of Okeham. And had issue, the Lord Cromwel. [This is an error: for this creation happened not in this reign, but Dec. 18, 37 of Hen. VIII. This Lord Cromwel died 5 Edw. VI.]

11. Thomas Seymour, brother to Edward Duke of So-

merset, was created Lord Seymour of Sudley, Feb. 17, 1546. And made Lord Admiral. And died without issue.

12. Richard Rich, created Lord Rich of Lighes, Feb. 17, 1546. And had issue, Richard [Robert, according to Dugdale] Lord Rich.

13. William Willoughby, heir male to the Lord Willoughby of Fresby. [Mistaken: in truth heir male to Sir Christopher Willoughby.] Created Lord Willoughby of Parham, Feb. 17, 1546. And had issue, Charles Lord Willoughby.

15. Edmund Sheffield, created Lord Sheffield of Butterwick, Feb. 17, 1546. John Lord Sheffield, his son and heir.

15. William Paget, called by writ to the Lords house, Decemb. 3. Created Lord Paget of Beaudesert, Jan. 19, 1549. And knight of the most noble order of the Garter. Who had issue, Henry Lord Paget, that died without issue.

16. Thomas Darcy, created April 5, 1551. Lord Darcy 457
of Chich, and knight of the noble order of the Garter. Father to John Lord Darcy.

17. ..... Ogle, created Lord Ogle. [This is erroneous: for his creation was in the reign of Edward IV. not of Edward VI.]

II. The names of King Edward's Council, upon his first access to the crown, to assist the Protector, were as follow:

Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury.

William Lord Saint John, great master of the King's household and president of the Council.

John Lord Russel, keeper of the privy seal.

William Marquis of Northampton.

John Earl of Warwick, great chamberlain of England.

Henry Earl of Arundel, lord chamberlain.

Thomas Lord Seymour of Sudley, high admiral of England.

Cutbert, bishop of Durham.

Richard Lord Rich.

Sir Thomas Cheyney,

BOOK II.

Anno 1553.

knight of the order, treasurer of the household.

Sir John Gate, knight of the order, comptroller of the household.

Sir Anthony Browne, knight of the order, master of the horses.

Sir Anthony Wyngfield, knight of the order, vice-chamberlain.

Sir William Paget, knight of the order, chief secretary.

Sir William Petre, one of the two principal secretaries.

Sir Ralph Sadleyr, master of the great wardrobe.

Sir John Baker, of the Augmentation Office.

Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York.

Sir Anthony Denny, gentleman of the privy chamber.

Sir William Herbert, gentleman of the privy chamber.

Sir Edward North, chancellor of the courts of Augmentations, and Revenues of the crown.

Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the Common Pleas.

Sir Edward Wotton.

Sir Edmund Peckham, cofferer of the household.

Sir Thomas Bromely, one of the justices of the Common Pleas.

Sir Richard Southwel.

The names of the privy counsellors anno 1552 were as follow:

Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury.

Thomas Bishop of Ely, lord chancellor.

The Lord Treasurer, Marquis of Winchester.

The Duke of Northumberland.

Lord Privy Seal, Earl of Bedford.

The Duke of Suffolk.

The Marquis of Northampton.

The Earl of Shrewsbury.

The Earl of Westmerland.

The Earl of Huntingdon.

The Earl of Pembroke.

Viscount Hereford.

Lord Admiral, Lord Clinton.

Lord Chamberlain, Lord Darcy.

Lord Cobham.

Lord Rich.

Mr. Comptroller, Sir Anthony Wyngfield.

Mr. Treasurer, Sir Thomas Cheyne.

Mr. Vice-chamberlain, Sir John Gates.

Mr. Secretary Petre.

Mr. Secretary Cecyl.

Sir Philip Hoby.
Sir Robert Bowes.
Sir John Gage, constable of the Tower.
Sir John Mason, secretary for the French tongue.
Sir Ralph Sadleir.
Sir John Baker, chancellor of the court of Augmentations.
Judge Bromely.
Judge Mountague. 453
Dr. Wotton.
Mr. North.

These that follow were King Edward's Council in the north.

Francis Earl of Shrewsbury, lord president.
Henry Earl of Westmerland.
Henry Earl of Cumberland.
Cuthbert, bishop of Durham.
William Lord Dacres of the north.
John Lord Conyers.
Thomas Lord Wharton.
John Hind, knt. one of his Majesty's justices of the Common Pleas.
Edmund Molineux, knt. sergeant at law.
Henry Savyle, knt.
Robert Bowes, knt.
Nicolas Fairfax, knt.
George Conyers, knt.
Leonard Beckwith, knt.
William Babthorp, knt.
Anthony Nevyl, knt.
Thomas Gargrave, knt.
Robert Mennel, sergeant at law.
Anthony Bellasis, esq.
John Rokeby, doctor of law.
Robert Chaloner, esq.
Richard Norton, esq.
Thomas Eymis, esq. secretary.

The President and Council in the marches of Wales, by a commission from the King, anno 1551, were as follow:

Sir William Herbert, president.
The Earl of Worcester.
Walter Viscount Hereford.
Robert Bishop of St. Asaph.
Edward Lord Powis.
Sir Robert Townsend.
Sir Thomas Bromely.
Sir John Packington.
Sir John Savage.
Sir Richard Cotton.
Sir Anthony Kingston.
Sir John Setlow.
Sir George Herbert.

BOOK II.

Sir Richard Mauxel.	Sir Adam Mitton.
Sir Thomas Johns.	Griffith Leyson.
Sir Walter Denys.	John Pollard.
Sir Edward Carne.	Matthew Herbert.
Sir Roland Hill.	John Skidmore.
Sir James Croft.	Richard Hussal.
Sir Robert Acton.	William Shelden
Sir Nicolas Arnold.	John Basset.
Sir John Price.	John Throgmerton.

Lords justices and lords lieutenants of the counties.

III. These were the King's justices commissioned in May, 1552, and lords lieutenants of the counties; who were to inquire of all treasons, misprisions of treasons, insurrections, rebellions, unlawful assemblies, and conventicles, unlawful speaking of words, confederacies, conspiracies, false allegations, contempts, falsehood, negligences, concealments, oppressions, riots, routs, murders, felonies, and all other evil doings. And to appoint certain days and places for inquiry thereof: and to be the King's lieutenants for levying of men, and to fight against the King's enemies and 459 rebels, and to execute upon them the marshal law; and subdue all invasions, insurrections, &c. as should chance to be moved in any place; as it ran in their commissions:

The Duke of Northumberland, for the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Newcastle upon Tine, and Barwick.

The Earl of Bedford, for Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwal.

The Earl of Sussex, Lord Dudley, Sir William Fermour, and Sir John Robsert, for Norfolk.

The Earl of Shrewsbury, for Yorkshire and the city of York.

The Lord Darcy, the Lord Wentworth, and Sir Anthony Wyngfield, for Suffolk.

The Duke of Northumberland and Viscount Hereford, for Staffordshire.

The Earl of Darby, for Lancashire.

The Lord Chancellor, for the Isle of Ely.

The Lord Marquis of Northampton, for the counties of Northampton, Bedford, Surrey, Hertford, Cambridge, Berks, and Oxon.

The Lord Treasurer, for Southampton and the Isle of Wight.

The Lord Clinton, for Lincolnshire.

The Earl of Oxford, Lord Darcy, Lord Rich, and Sir John Gates, for Essex.

The Earl of Westmerland, for the bishopric of Durham.

The Duke of Northumberland and Earl of Warwick, for Warwick.

The Earl of Pembroke, for Wilts.

Sir Robert Bowes, for Middlesex.

The Duke of Suffolk, for Leicester.

The Earl of Huntingdon, for Darby and Rutland.

The Lord Warden, for Kent and Canterbury.

The Earl of Rutland, for Nottingham.

Sir Robert Tyrwit and Thomas Audley, esq. for Huntington.

The Lord Russel, for Bucks.

The Lord La Ware, for Sussex.

The Earl of Cumberland, for Westmerland.

The Earl of Pembroke, for Wales, and the marches thereof.

IV. Of persons in place and office, and chief about the King, these were the most eminent:

Goodrick, bishop of Ely, lord chancellor.

Lord Marquis of Winchester, lord high treasurer.

The Earl of Bedford, lord privy seal.

The Duke of Northumberland, lord great master.

The Marquis of Northampton, lord high chamberlain of England.

Lord Darcy of Chiche, lord chamberlain of the household.

Lord Clinton, lord high admiral of England.

The Earl of Warwick, master of the King's horses.

Sir Anth. Wyngfield, Sir Richard Cotton, } successively comptrollers of the King's house.

Sir John Gates, vice-cham-

BOOK II.

berlain and chancellor of the duchy.

Sir John Williams, master of the jewel-house.

460 The Lord Strange,
Sir Philip Hoby,
Sir Thomas Wroth,
Sir Nic. Throgmorton,
Barnaby Fitz-Patric,
Sir John Cheke,
Sir Robert Dudley,
Sir Henry Nevyl,
Sir Henry Gates,
Sir Henry Sidney,
Sir William Stanley,
And some others,
} Gentlemen of the King's privy chamber: whereof four were called, The Principal Gentlemen.

Sir Ralph Sadleyr, master of the wardrobe.

Sir William Cavendish, treasurer of the chamber.

Sir W. Petre,
Sir W. Cecyl,
} principal secretaries of state.

Sir John Mason, secretary for the French tongue.

Sir George Howard, master of the King's henchmen.

Sir John Gage, constable of the Tower.

Sir James Croft, lord deputy of Ireland.

Richard Cecyl,
Rob. Robotham,
} esqs. yeomen of the robes.

Sir Thomas Chaloner,
Bernard Hampton,
Armagil Waad,
William Thomas,
William Honnins,
} clerks of the Council.

Cutbert Vaughan, esq. master of the King's bears, bulls, and dogs.

V. The names of the high sheriffs of Essex and Hertfordshire were these:

Anno reg.
1. Edward Brocket of Hatfield, esq.
2. John Cock of Brokesburn, esq.
3. Sir John Gates of Chesthunt, knt.

Anno reg.
4. Sir George Norton, knt.
5. Sir Henry Tyrrel of Heron, knt.
6. Sir Thomas Pope of Tittenhanger, knt.

VI. The names of the King's chief captains and head officers in Calais and Guisnes, and the marches thereof, in the latter end of his reign, were these:

The Lord William Howard, The Lord Grey, Sir Anthony Aucher, Sir Raynold Scot, Sir Maurice Denys, John Harleston, George Brown, Edward Grimston, Sir Thomas Cotton, Nicolas Alexander, Eustace Abingdon.

A catalogue of the Bishops in this King's reign; with remarks upon them.

AND as these were the chief of quality and honour among the laity, so for those of that figure among the spiritualty, I shall offer here the names of the several archbishops and bishops that governed the respective sees under this King. Of whom were not above half a score that heartily favoured and furthered the reformation of religion.

ARCHBISHOPS.

Cranmer. A privy counsellor: memorials of whom were some years ago published. To him the Church of England oweth her excellent reformation. He was a married man: and left a son, of his own name; who was restored in blood in the fifth of Queen Elizabeth. This Archbishop was martyred by fire at Oxford, under Queen Mary. Canterbury.

Holgate. A favourer of the Reformation. The only wealthy prelate in this reign; and a married man. He purchased of the King the manor of Scrowby in Nottinghamshire; and, after his own and his wife's death, laid it to the archbishopric of York. Upon the coming of Queen Mary to the crown, he was cast into the Tower; spoiled of vast treasure, plate, and jewels, and household-stuff, at his houses at Cawood, and at Battersea in Surrey, and other places, where he sometimes resided. York.

BISHOPS.

Boner. He was deposed under King Edward's reign; but restored under Queen Mary, by sentence of Dr. John Tregonwel. Commonly called *bloody Boner*, for his popish zeal in sentencing so many professors of the gospel to the flames. He was deprived again under Queen Elizabeth; and remained excommunicate several years before his death. Supposed to be base son of one Savage, a priest. He died in the Marshalsea. London.

Ridley. He succeeded, upon the deprivation of Boner.

BOOK II. A great instrument and assistant to Cranmer in the reformation of this Church. Very learned and pious. He was chaplain to King Henry VIII. before whom he once preached a notable sermon, at the marriage of the Lady Clynton to Sir Anthony Browne, master of the horse to that King. He was martyred by fire under Queen Mary: and died unmarried.

Winchester. *Gardiner.* Deprived under this King, and laid in the Tower. But under Queen Mary restored, and advanced to be lord chancellor of England. He was chancellor also of the University of Cambridge, and master of Trinity hall there: which place he held to his death. He is supposed to be the base son of Woodvile, bishop of Salisbury. But
462 he gave the coat of the Gardiners of Glemsford, near Ipswich in Suffolk; which was, azure, a cross, or, charged with a cinquefoil, gules, pierced; or rather, a rose, (which, I suppose, was an addition granted him by the King,) between four griffins' heads crazed, argent, languid, gules: as I observed from an ancient picture of this prelate's, in the possession of my worthy friend, Sir Richard Gibbs, of Whetham in Suffolk, knt. Upon the frame is writ his motto, *Vana salus hominis.* When that picture was taken of him, he was fifty-three years of age. He is represented with a surplice close at the wrists, and a scarf over it, a square cap on his head, a book in his hand, two great stoned rings upon his two forefingers, the one a ruby, and the other a sapphire, and another small ring upon the little finger of his left hand. A severe black visage shaven close, and his eyebrows somewhat hanging over his eyes.

Ponet. Upon Gardiner's deprivation, he succeeded. He had been Archbishop Cranmer's chaplain. He had 2000 marks a year settled upon him: the rest of the temporalties of this rich bishopric was taken into the King's hands; who bestowed most of the good manors and lands thereof upon several of his courtiers. This Bishop was one of that order in this reign that cordially favoured religion, and was an exile under Queen Mary. Bale, the antiquary, and Good-

were, were at one time this Bishop's chaplains, and went both together into Ireland. one to be Bishop of Ossory, and the other Archbishop of Armagh.

Tonstal. A privy counsellor, and long experienced in matters of state. He went along with the Reformation for some years, till at length he was laid in the Tower for misprision of treason, in concealing a conspiracy in the north, and was deprived. He was base born. Restored by Queen Mary; and died a very aged man, about a year after Queen Elizabeth's access to the crown. He wrote a book *De Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri in Eucharistia*, in the year 1551: and was then seventy-seven years of age. Archbishop Parker buried him in Lambeth church, with the respect due to his character. Durham.

Horn. Dean of Durham, had the grant of this bishopric, but enjoyed it not, having no mind to it, Tonstal being alive. It was soon after, by some resolves of Council, dissolved by act of Parliament. Upon a design of founding it anew, Ridley, bishop of London, was nominated to it; but it went no further.

Goodrick. A privy counsellor: he was advanced to be lord chancellor, after the resignation of the Lord Rich. Noted for his impartial distribution of justice: gentle to his enemies, but somewhat too harsh to his friends and dependants. Under him the Reformation succeeded well. He was employed much by King Henry and King Edward, in embassies and matters of state. He was the son of Edward Goodrick, of Kirby in Lincolnshire, by Jane his wife, daughter and heir of Williamson, of Boston in the same county: and gave for his coat, argent, on a fesse, gules, between two lions passant gardant, sable, a flower de lys of the first, between two crescents, or. Ely.

Holbech. A true favourer of the gospel, and made much use of in the reforming and settling of the Church. He was called sometimes Henry Rands, of Holbech in Lincolnshire. He had been lord prior of Worcester, and upon the new establishment of the cathedral churches, was made the first dean of Worcester. He was married, and left a son, named Lincoln.

BOOK II.

Thomas. Thirty-four rich manors, belonging to this see of Lincoln, were alienated in his time, though not by his fault. The sons of Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, were for some time educated under him at Bugden, and both died there of the sweating sickness.

Taylor. A true well-willer to the Reformation. Formerly incumbent of St. Peter's, Cornhill, in London; more lately, master of St. John's college in Cambridge, and dean of Lincoln: succeeding Holbech in the year 1552. He was married: and upon that pretence thrust out of the Parliament house in the first of Queen Mary. Godwin tells us, he died soon after, at Ankerwick; perhaps at Sir Thomas Smith's house there, formerly a nunnery: for he and the Bishop seem to have been old acquaintance at Cambridge.

Coventry and Litchfield.

Sampson. He was bred in St. Clement's hostle, Cambridge. Though a Papist, yet he complied so far, that he continued bishop throughout King Edward's reign. In the year 1551 he was appointed one of the commissioners for the limits of Scotland: and died under Queen Mary, anno 1554.

Salisbury.

Salcot, alias *Capon.* A Papist, but made a shift to keep in all this King's reign. He spoiled the bishopric: so that Jewel, his successor, found it so bare, that he complained he had no benefices to maintain learned men. He enriched himself, by making his bishopric poor.

Bath and Wells.

Knight. Employed much in embassies by King Henry. His house, by some exchange, was the nunnery without Aldgate, called *The Minories:* in a chapel whereof he was consecrated.

Barlow. A married man, and real friend to the Reformation. He made some compliance in the beginning of Queen Mary, to save his life. Afterwards got beyond sea; and returned upon Queen Elizabeth's access to the crown; and was then made bishop of Hereford. He left several daughters, all married to bishops.

Exeter.

Voysey, or *Veysy*, alias *Harman.* He was governor to the Lady Mary, when she had the title of Princess of Wales, and kept a great court. He was a brave courtly prelate,

he made great spoil of the bishopric, by selling away many lordships and seats from it. He, upon persuasion, and some good terms made for himself, resigned: but took his bishopric again under Queen Mary. He sold the manor and borge of Paington in Devon, and other lands and tenements, unto Sir Thomas Speke, knt. by indenture bearing date December 21, 1549, with the assent of the Dean and Chapter: which estate, it seems, the King had some pretence unto. Therefore there was made by the King a confirmation, in November 1551, of the said purchase to him, with a release of all the King's right thereto. The Earl of Bedford also, and others of the Council of King Edward, purchased good pennyworths of him. For the assuring of whose titles, a letter was sent from the King and Council to the Bishop, March 10, 1550, to suffer the said Earl, and others of the Council, to procure the best assurance for the lands bought of him, appertaining to the bishopric: for it seems he was not yet actually out of the bishopric, though in November before, a letter of thanks was sent him for surrendering thereof; which, I suppose, must be understood of his promise to surrender.

Coverdale. He lived long in Germany and Denmark; 464
where he had a benefice, and married a sober woman, named Elizabeth, born in those parts. A grave, reverend, good man, and a serious promoter of the reformation of this Church. He lived in exile under Queen Mary; returned home in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and assisted at the consecration of Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury. He lived privately in London for some time: but in 1563 he was preferred to be rector of St. Magnus, London; whose poverty was such, that the Queen forgave him his first-fruits. And such was the esteem he bore, that he had no less persons for his intercessors with the Queen, than the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Earl of Leicester, and the Secretary of State. He was a diligent corrector of the English Bible after Tindal; which is commonly called Coverdale's translation.

BOOK II.

Norwich.

Rugge, alias *Reps*. He had his name of Reps from the denomination of the town where he was born, or where his father lived, *viz.* North Reps in Norfolk. He was abbot of St. Benedict de Hulmo.

Thirlby. He was of Trinity hall in Cambridge, and kept under Bilney's chamber: being then a scholar, he used often to play upon his recorder, for his diversion: and then good Bilney would go to his prayers. He was often sent abroad, as ambassador, by King Henry; who first preferred him to be bishop of Westminster. He was dean of the chapel to King Edward, and by him sent to the Emperor. He became bishop of Ely under Queen Mary: and under Queen Elizabeth was deprived; but lived and died, with much freedom and good usage, with Archbishop Parker; who gave him honourable burial in Lambeth church.

Worcester.

Hethe. He was deprived in the year 1550, being of the age of forty-nine years. After his deprivation he lived with Ridley, bishop of London, during the reign of King Edward: and under Queen Mary was advanced to be archbishop of York, and lord chancellor of England. Deprived again under Queen Elizabeth, and lived many years in great plenty and freedom at his manor of Cobham in Surrey.

Hoper. Once a monk at Glocester. He lived long in Germany, especially in Switzerland, where he became well known to Bullinger. Under King Edward he returned into England, and was chaplain to the Duke of Somerset, and a great preacher in and about London. He married a discreet woman of the Low Countries, and had by her several children. A zealous favourer of pure religion: and for that cause martyred under Queen Mary very cruelly.

Glocester.

Wakeman. He was the last abbot of Tewxbury, and the first bishop of Glocester.

Hoper. In the year 1552, this diocese of Glocester and that of Worcester were united into one, by the King's patents; and from thenceforth to be taken and reputed for one. And Hoper was constituted the first bishop of the diocese of Worcester and Glocester.

Skyp. He was once chaplain to Queen Anne Bolen, and her almoner. A forward man once for religion. He made many, by a long lease of two hundred years, his London house or inn, belonging to the bishops of Hereford, situate in the parish of St. Mary Mounthaw, or Mounthault, to the Lord Clinton, lord admiral. CHAP. XXVI. Hereford.

Harley. An hearty friend to the Reformation. Dr. Laurence Humfrey, president of Magdalen, and the King's professor in divinity, was his scholar in Magdalen college, Oxon. In Queen Mary's reign, he instructed his flock in woods and secret places, and administered the sacrament according to the order of the English book; lurking up and down in the nation; and died in the hard reign of the said Queen: yet living to the last year of her reign. Therefore it is an error in Mason's book, where he saith, that Harley assisted at the consecration of Bishop Grindal. It is an error also, that he makes those that assisted Archbishop Cranmer, at the consecration of Harley, to be the suffragan of Sydon, and Tayler, bishop of Lincoln, when indeed neither of them did, but Nicolas, bishop of London, and Robert, bishop of Carlisle, as may appear by the Archbishop's register. 465 De Minist. p. 393. Ibid.

Day. He complied for some years with King Edward's proceedings: but afterwards, for refusing to take down the altars in his diocese, he was deprived; yet restored under Queen Mary, being a zealous Papist. He told Bradford in prison, who had charged him with departing from the reformed Church in King Edward's days, "that he was but "a young man, and then, coming from the University, he "went with the world, but it was always against his con-"science." Under Queen Mary, he was one of the commissioners for trying, judging, and sentencing the Protestant divines, and other professors of religion. Chichester.

Scory. An hearty embracer and furtherer of religion: he had been Archbishop Cranmer's chaplain, and one of the six preachers in Canterbury. A married man. He made some compliances under Queen Mary; but afterwards fled abroad, and was an exile, till he returned under Queen

BOOK II. Elizabeth, and was placed by her, not in Chichester again, but over the diocese of Hereford.

Rochester. *Ridley.* *Poynet.* *Scory.* Afterwards translated to other dioceses, as above is shewn; and the diocese remained void for near two years.

Oxford. *King.* He was first a monk of Rewly, or Royal-lieu, near Oxford; then abbot of Bruern in Oxfordshire; after abbot of Thame; and lastly, abbot of Oseney: who surrendering these religious houses, or some of them, to King Henry VIII. was rewarded by being constituted the first bishop of Oxford, having been suffragan bishop of Reon, and called, commonly, bishop of Thame, where he had been abbot, and probably lived. He passed through all the changes under King Henry, King Edward, and Queen Mary, and died towards the latter end of her reign.

Peterburgh. *Chambre.* There were two John Chambres, contemporary, and both eminent, and in holy orders; one a doctor of physic, bred in Merton college, Oxon, where he was successively fellow and warden, and one of King Henry's physicians in ordinary, and that signed a letter, with five others of the said King's physicians, writ to the Council, concerning the dangerous condition of Queen Jane, after the birth of Prince Edward; there styling himself *priest.* He was dean of St. Stephen's, Westminster, archdeacon of Bedford, and one of the famous convocation, anno 1536, when the Articles of Religion were framed, and then signed himself *Johannes Chambre Divi Stephani Decanus, et Bedford. Arch.* He died 1549. The other John Chambre was bachelor in divinity, a Benedictine monk, bred up chiefly in
466 Cambridge; after made abbot of Peterburgh; and having resigned the said abbey to the King, he was constituted the first bishop thereof: and died 1556. It was Godwin's error, (and an easy error it was,) to confound both these Chambres, supposing them to be one and the same person: which Mr. Anthony à Wood hath taken notice of.

Bristol. *Bush.* This man also was governor of a religious house, and provincial of the order of religious men, called *Bonhommes*, and well skilled in physic, as well as divinity, and

wrote learned books. He was married, and therefore deprived under Queen Mary. He was forced, though he opposed it stiffly for a time, to comply with the iniquity of this age, and to part with a good manor belonging to the bishopric, in exchange with the King; namely, the manor of Leigh: which one Norton coveted, and obtained.

Aldrich. A man of good learning. A complier throughout this reign, though not well affected to the Reformation. Carlisle.

Bird. About the year 1530 this man was sent to Bilney, then in prison, to confer and argue with him. He was then provincial of the White Friars; and then, or after, a suffragan in Coventry, where he was born; after, suffragan of Penrith; after, bishop of Bangor, and then of Chester. He was married, and therefore deprived under Queen Mary: but in her reign, suffragan to Bishop Boner, and vicar of Dunmow in Essex. Chester.

Barlow. Of him somewhat before was said. He was the King's chaplain. When Stephen Gardiner, in the year 1528, then the King's secretary, commonly called Dr. Stephens, was ambassador at Rome with the Pope, the King despatched this Barlow, then a canon of St. Osyth's in Essex, with letters to him. He was preferred to the priory of Haverford West by Queen Anne Bolen. When he was bishop of St. David's, in the year 1537, he laboured with the Lord Cromwel, for the translation of the see to Carmarthen, and the disposing of Aberguilly college to Brecknock, the principal towns of South Wales; whereby provision being made for learning and knowledge in the Scriptures, the Welsh rudeness might have been framed into English civility, and their gross superstitions in religious worship rectified and reformed. He wrote several books against Popery: as, a treatise of the *Burial of the Mass*; a *Dialogue* between the Gentleman and the Countryman; the *Climbing up of Friers*, and *Religious Persons*, pourtrayed, with figures; a *Description of God's Word*, compared to the light: also a *Dialogue*, inveighing especially against St. Thomas of Canterbury; but this was never printed. St. David's.

Ferrar. A real professor, and friend to the Reformation,

BOOK II.

once a chaplain to the Duke of Somerset. He was one of the King's visitors in the first year of his reign, and one of the preachers in that visitation. A married man. Unhappy in the contest some of his church raised against him, for their own ends, to stop his episcopal visitation of them: whereby he was the less able to take care of collecting and returning of the tenths of his clergy; and so was cast into prison by the Council for the King's debt. And under Queen Mary, who found him in the Tower, martyred in the flames, for adhering to the gospel. He left children.

467 Landaff. *Kitchin*, alias *Dunston*. This man, according to the practice of several others of the popishly affected bishops under King Edward, made a grievous waste and spoil of a very wealthy bishopric. He was the only bishop under Queen Mary that continued in his bishopric, and complied with the changes under Queen Elizabeth.

Bangor. *Bulkley*. He sat bishop from the year 1541 to the year 1555, that is, in three princes reigns. He was blind some time before his death: being suddenly struck with blindness, as though it had been some judgment upon him for sacrilege.

St. Asaph. *Parfew*, alias *Warton*. Well affected to Popery. Once abbot of Bermondsey in Southwark. He made a spoil of his bishopric by long leases. Under Queen Mary he was translated to the see of Hereford.

CHAP. XXVII.

A catalogue of divers letters, orders of Council, commissions, &c. sent and given out in this reign: collected and preserved by John Fox.

FOR the conclusion of these collections of this reign, to let in some further sure light thereinto, specially as to the ecclesiastical state thereof, and to make up any defects in some of the foregoing relations, I shall here subjoin a catalogue of letters, orders of Council, commissions, and other authentic

ords of this time, exemplified by Fox in his ninth book of Acts and Monuments. Fox is the storehouse, I am only the index, to point thereunto.

1. A letter missive of Boner, bishop of London, to the bishop of Westminster, for the tenor of the Archbishop's letter, for abolishing of candles, ashes, palms, and other ceremonies. Dated Jan. 28, 1548.

2. A letter of the Council, sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for abolishing images. Dated Feb. 11, 1548.

3. Boner, bishop of London, his letter sent with the Archbishop's mandate to the Bishop of Westminster, for abolishing images. Dated Feb. 20, 1548.

4. Letters missive from the Council to the bishops of the land, concerning the communion to be ministered in both kinds. Dated March 13, 1548.

5. A letter directed from the King's Council to Boner, bishop of London, for abrogating private masses, namely, the Apostles' mass, within the church of St. Paul's, used under the name of the Apostles' communion. Dated June 24, 1549.

6. A letter of the said Bishop to the dean and canons 468
residentiaries, prebendaries, sub-dean, and ministers of the same church, to the same import. Dated June 26, 1549.

7. The Lord Chancellor Rich's speech in the Star-chamber, to the justices of the peace, for the advancement and setting forward of the King's godly proceedings.

8. A letter from the King and Council to Boner, bishop of London, partly rebuking him of negligence, and partly charging him to see to the better setting out of the Service-Book within his diocese. Dated July 23, 1549.

9. Bishop Boner's letter to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, in pursuance of the letter abovesaid. Dated July 26, 1549.

10. Certain private injunctions and articles, in number six, given Aug. 11, 1549, to Bishop Boner by the Council, to be followed and observed by him.

11. The articles of the commons of Devonshire and Cornwal, sent to the King, anno 1549.

BOOK II.

12. A message sent by the King's Majesty to certain of the people assembled in Devonshire. Given at Richmond, July 8, in the third of his reign.

13. The Council to Sir Anthony Cook, and the rest of the commissioners for the visitation at London, concerning Bishop Boner's recantation, made before them, of his protestation at the receiving of the injunctions and homilies. Dated Sept. 12, 1547.

14. The form of Boner's recantation.

15. The copy of the King's commission sent down for the examination of Boner, Sept. 8, 1549.

16. The tenor and form of Boner's protestation, exhibited to the King's commissioners at his first appearing.

17. A certain declaration or interpretation of the King, touching certain points and doubts in his former commission, with licence given to the commissioners, as well to determine as to hear the case of Boner. Dated Sept. 17.

18. Boner's recusation of the judgment of Sir Thomas Smith.

19. The first appellation intimated by Boner, bishop of London.

20. The second recusation made by the said bishop.

21. Bishop Boner's letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, charging them not to be abused with naughty preachers at Paul's. Dated Sept. 16, 1549.

22. Boner's declaration before the commissioners.

23. His supplication to the Lord Chancellor of England, with the rest of the Privy Council, from the Marshalsea, complaining of his imprisonment by the commissioners. Dated October 7, 1549.

24. *Sententia deprivationis lata contra Eadmund. London. Episcopum.*

25. Boner's appeal in words from the sentence definitive.

26. Boner's supplication to the Lord Chancellor, and the rest of the Council, complaining of the commissioners. Dated October 26, 1549.

27. The heads of another supplication to the King from the said Boner, desiring his Majesty's letter of *supersedeas*

gainst the commissioners; and that the matter might be heard before the Council.

28. The King and Council's letter to Nicolas, bishop of 469 London, for taking down of altars in churches. Dated Nov. 24, 1550. With certain reasons why the Lord's board should rather be after the form of a table, than of an altar.

29. The Lady Mary to the Protector, and the rest of the Council, concerning her conformity to the King's proceedings. Dated June 22, 1549.

30. A remembrance of certain matters appointed by the Council to be declared by Dr. Hopton to the Lady Mary's Grace, for answer to her former letter. Dated June 14, [24,] 1549.

31. The Lady Mary to the Lord Protector, and the rest of the Council. Dated June 27, 1549.

32. The King's Majesty's letter to the Lady Mary. Dated Jan. 24, 1550.

33. The Lady Mary to the King's most excellent Majesty. Dated Feb. 3.

34. The Lady Mary to the Lords of the Council, Dec. 4, 1550.

35. The Council to the Lady Mary, Dec. 25.

36. The Lady Mary to the Lords of the Council, May 2, 1551.

37. The Council to the Lady Mary, May 6, 1551.

38. The Lady Mary to the Council, May 11.

39. The Council to the Lady Mary, May 27, 1551.

40. The Lady Mary to the Lords of the Council, June 21, 1551.

41. The Council to the Lady Mary, June 24, 1551.

42. The Lady Mary to the King's Majesty, Aug. 19.

43. The King to the Lady Mary, Aug. 24.

44. The King's Majesty's instructions concerning their message to the Lady Mary, given to the Lord Chancellor, Sir Anthony Wyngfield, and Sir William Petre, Aug. 24.

45. A writ or evidence touching the order and manner of the misdemeanour of Stephen, bishop of Winchester, with declaration of the faults wherewith he was justly charged.

BOOK II.

46. A letter of the Bishop of Winchester to Mr. Vaughan of Portsmouth, concerning pulling down certain images in that town. Dated May 3, 1547.

47. Divers letters of the Protector to that Bishop, and of that Bishop to the Protector, dated from Southwark and Winchester, 1547.

48. The Bishop of Winchester to Ridley, containing matter and objections against a certain sermon of his, made at Court.

49. The tenor and copy of a letter sent from the Duke of Somerset to the Bishop of Winchester, touching such points as the said Bishop should entreat of in his sermon. Dated June 28, 1548.

50. A letter sent to the Bishop of Winchester, signed by the King, and subscribed by the Council, together with certain articles for him to subscribe. Dated July 4, 1550.

51. The sequestration of the Bishop of Winchester.

52. The appeal of the said Bishop before the sentence definitive.

53. The sentence definitive against him.

54. A letter of the Lord Protector to the Lord Russel, lord privy seal, concerning troubles working against him. Dated Oct. 6, 1549.

55. The Lord Protector to the Council at London, Oct. 7, 1549.

470 56. The King's letter to Sir Henry Amcotts, lord mayor, and Sir Rowland Hill, mayor elect, and to the aldermen and citizens of London, to levy men to attend upon him and his uncle the Protector. Dated Oct. 6, with the Protector's name subscribed.

57. The Lords' letter to the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, for a supportation of armed men against the Protector. Dated also Oct. 6, 1549.

58. Articles objected against the Lord Protector.

59. An epistle of young Prince Edward to the Archbishop of Canterbury, his godfather.

60. Another epistle of the same to the same.

61. The answer of the Archbishop to Prince Edward's epistle.

62. Dr. Cox, the Prince's schoolmaster, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, concerning the Prince's proficiency.

63. The prayer of King Edward before his death.

From all which may be collected ample matter for a further illustration of the state of affairs in this King's reign.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Animadversions upon Sir John Hayward's life and reign of King Edward VI.

Posterity not to be imposed upon, nor the dead to be misrepresented.

As I have in several places of the foregoing history taken occasion to correct some errors or defects in Sir John Hayward's book; so I cannot conclude my collections of this King, without some few more animadversions thereon: and that out of that private love I bear to the truth of history, and that public concern that inspires me with a care of posterity; and that it be not (as it is too much) imposed upon with falsehood: and that those that are long since dead, be not represented quite different from what indeed they were, and that, too often, to the diminishing of their reputation to posterity.

Hayward's imperfections. Life of King Edw. 4to. Pr. 1630. p. 141.

Hayward's style and language is good, and so is his fancy too; only he makes too much use of it for an historian: which puts him sometimes to make speeches for others which they never spake, nor perhaps thought on: there is one made for the King, upon his reflection on the loss of his uncle the Duke of Somerset, too wise and too deep for a child-king to think or utter. It is another imperfection in our author, that he shewed himself too partial, seldom speaking well of the Reformation, nor of the chief reformers, especially those of the clergy, as of Goodrick, bishop of Ely, Latymer, sometime bishop of Worcester, and Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury: against the two last whereof especially he shot out his arrows, even bitter words, and

BOOK II.

framed such characters of them, as, if true, would have rendered them very evil men. His pen is, for the most part, dipped in vinegar and gall, giving sharp and ill descriptions
471 of men generally, and making the reign to run altogether upon intrigue and ill design; and that, however plausibly things outwardly appeared, other matters were drove at. And lastly, it is a fault in him, that he wrote a history without any chronology, and leaves his reader to grope for the knowledge of the time, and the months and years wherein the respective things fell out. The want of which spoils the beauty and evidence of history, and makes the notices of things confused and uncertain.

The authors by him used.

The authors he is beholden to, for assisting him with the materials of his history, are four especially. The first is Patten's account of the expedition into Scotland by the Duke of Somerset, in the first year of the King; (which author is transcribed into Holinshed, whence, I suppose, he had it;) and that is the reason he is so large and particular in that affair: but that author assists him no further than where that expedition ended. His second assistant is Holinshed's History; which he often transcribes, and sometimes mends the speeches which he meets with there, by his own fancy and additions. His third author is King Edward himself, in his excellent Journal; which, it seems, he had the perusal
Page 3. of, by the favour of Sir Robert Cotton; and so he acknowledges. But this Journal, containing but short and imperfect notices of things that fell out, our author hath taken too much liberty sometimes to fill up and add unto them by his own mere conjectures, confidently related as matters of truth; which yet sometimes prove mistakes And where the Journal is at an end, (for it concludes in November, 1552,) his history is well near ended too; though there were eight months between that and the King's death. The fourth author he makes use of is Nicolas Sanders, *De Schism. Anglicano;* a most profligate fellow, a very slave to the Roman see, and a sworn enemy to his own country, caring not what he writ, if it might but throw reproach and dirt enough upon the reforming kings and princes, the reform-

and the Reformation. From this man he ventures to take some things that he sets down in his book, scurrilous and false: but as for records, registers, manuscript letters, to improve or justify his history, and to present his readers with some new things, and unknown before, he offers nothing thence.

This for the faults of the history in general. I proceed now to make some particular remarks and observations upon some passages in it: yet prefacing this before I begin, that I do not this out of any prejudice or vainglory, or love of contention or contradiction, or any other ill end, (for I know mine own imperfections,) but for the sake of truth only, and to contribute my poor mite towards the maintaining of it.

Page 1. Hayward writes, King Edward was born the 17th day of October, 1537.] Whereas, according to Cooper, Stow, Holinshed, the Lord Herbert, and the best historians, the 12th, being the eve of St. Edward, was the day of his birth.

The day of the King's birth. First edit.

P. *eadem.* He writes, that all reports constantly ran, that his mother's body was opened for his birth, and that she died of the incision the fourth day following.] This, I make no question, was a popish invention at first, and the report soon became current among that party, out of ill-will to King Henry, to render him cruel, and the Prince his son unluckily born. Sanders, as far as I can see, first gave out the story, who writes, that when the Queen was in hard labour, 472 they asked the King whose life they should save, the Queen's or the young infant's; and he answered, "he could very "easily have more wives." But neither Cooper, in his Epitome of Chronicles, nor Holinshed, nor the Lord Herbert, say a word of this. And Bishop Burnet mentions original letters in the Cotton library, that shew how the Queen was well delivered of the Prince, and died in childbed the next day, or rather, two days after, according to Holinshed and Herbert, and our other best historians. Those letters are exemplified by Dr. Fuller in his Church History: the one

Not cut out of his mother's womb.

Book vii. p. 421, 422.

BOOK II.

from the Queen herself, the other from her physicians: both wrote to the Council.

Cox and Cheke his instructors.

P. 3. He speaks of the instructors of the young Prince; namely, Dr. Cox and Mr. Cheke.] But he leaves out Sir Anthony Cook, who was also a great guide of his learning and manners in those early years of his.

Moreover, of Cox and Cheke he asserts, that they were of mean birth, and that they might be well said to be born of themselves.] As for the former, I can say but little; only that one of both his names, *viz.* Richard Cox, was an eminent citizen and skinner of London, and buried at St. Austin's church, anno 1467, where he had a monument. As for Cheke, his family was ancient, and of good wealth. I find one Margaret Cheke under King Richard III. who granted her a licence to found a chantry, with one priest in the parish church of Long Ashton, nigh Bristol; which bespake her a woman of quality and wealth. This Cheke was sprung from the Chekes of the Isle of Wight: the antiquity of which family is traced as far upward as King Richard the Second's time, when a Cheke married a daughter of the Lord Mountague's; as Dr. Fuller teaches us, who also takes notice of this error of our author.

Ecclesiast. Hist.

Upon Cheke's learning also he casts a blur, when he says, that for his other sufficiencies, besides skill in Latin and Greek, he was pedantic enough, as appears by his books.] I believe Sir John Hayward saw only three books written by him, and scarcely them, (no more of his, I think, being ever published,) *viz.* his translation of two orations of St. Chrysostom, that then first saw the light; his letters to Bishop Gardiner, concerning the true way of pronouncing Greek, wrote in Latin; and his True Subject to the Rebel, in English; which no man can depart from the reading of, but with very high opinion of Cheke's great ingenuity and learning. He was a man of great reading, an excellent Platonist and philosopher; one of the first restorers of good polite learning in Cambridge. Dr. Thomas Wylson, secretary of state to Queen Elizabeth, and his contemporary in

Epist dedic. to Sir Will. Cecyl, be-

the University, who well knew him, called him, "that rare "learned man, and singular ornament of the land." Much more might be said of the worth of the man, if this were a place. CHAP. XXVIII. fore his translation of Demost. Orat.

P. 4. Great preparations were made, after he was nine years old, for the creating or declaring him Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwal, and Count Palatine of Chester.] The Lord Herbert writes, this Prince was made so six days after his birth: at which time there was a creation of two other earls, *viz.* the Earls of Hertford and Southampton. But this, indeed, Hayward took out of the King's Journal, that speaks of the great preparations for it when he was about that age. But he, as doubting of the Prince's creation now, added, *or declaring* him so to be. The Prince's creation. P. 494. 473

Ibid. The Earl of Hertford and Sir Anthony Brown were despatched from the Council, to fetch the King, then lying at Hertford.] This likewise he had from the Journal. But Holinshed makes the place of the King's present residence now to be, not Hertford, but Hatfield. The King, whether at Hertford or Hatfield.

P. 6. A few days after the King's coronation, the Earl of Southampton was not only removed from his office of chancellor, but from his place and authority in Council.] This he hath verbatim from Holinshed; but both he and his author must be understood warily here, so as not to mean that he was removed from being a privy counsellor, but from that authority he had at the board before: for this Earl was not removed from being a counsellor till the fourth of the King, at Candlemas, when he and the Earl of Arundel were both put out, as Holinshed himself writes. The Earl of Southampton discharged. P. 1062.

P. 7. He writes, that Archbishop Cranmer was violent with the King, by persuasions and entreaties, to seal the warrant for the execution of Joan Butcher, an Arian: and by his importunity prevailed with the King, who told the said Archbishop, he would lay the charge thereof upon him before God. And then the author adds his conjecture hereupon, that it might be Cranmer's importunity of blood, whereby that woman was burnt, that he himself afterwards felt the smart of fire.] This passage, whether it be true or Archbishop Cranmer vindicated.

BOOK II.

no, I cannot tell. The King mentioneth nothing of it in his Journal, only that she was burnt for her obstinacy in her heresy: and the character is utterly disagreeing from Cranmer's spirit; for none was more tender of blood than he; none more pitiful and compassionate: nor was he a man for rigorous methods and violent courses. Indeed Fox mentions, that the Council put Cranmer upon moving the King to sign this warrant; which was a sign he had no great forwardness to it himself: and in obedience to them he did labour with the King about it, and obtained it. And though he did this, it neither argued *violence*, nor *importunity for blood:* for as he was not present at her condemnation, as appears by the Council-Book, so he may be concluded to have had no desire of her death, though the warrant by his means was signed for her execution. His thoughts, I am apt to think, were, that this fear of death, which she saw so near, might serve to reclaim her from her error, when his and other learned men's reasonings with her, being both ignorant and obstinate, were ineffectual. So that this you must look upon as another strain of Hayward's pen, and good-will to churchmen.

Duke of Somerset's name wronged.

P. 15. He saith, the Duke of Somerset was a man little esteemed, either for wisdom, or person, or courage in arms.] The wrong this author hath done the name of this good Duke to posterity, by this and such like characters of him, interspersed through his book, I have endeavoured to right in these Collections. And he that shall but read forward in the same paragraph where these undervaluing words are bestowed upon the Duke, will find the author confuting himself.

See chap. ii. and iii.

The alterations made in religion.

P. 43, 44. He blames the counsels as unadvised, that were taken for alterations, both in respect of religion and enclosures; because of the danger thereof in the new reign of the young King: and says, that some respect should
474 have been given to those green times. And that as to religion, though King Henry VIII. passed the like change before, yet that example was not then to be followed, the King being not equal either in spirit or power.] These

were the very considerations that Bishop Gardiner and the Papists in those times used with the Protector, and others of the Council, for the continuance of the popish religion.

He dislikes the Protector's proclamation for laying down *enclosures* by a certain day: which, he saith, being not obeyed, gave occasion to the multitude to make tumults.] In truth, the enclosures themselves, whereby vast numbers of poor people had the food taken out of their mouths by the rich, were the causes of tumults. The proclamation was but just and reasonable, to redress such wrongs done to the King' poor subjects.

And proclamation against enclosures, disliked by Hayward;

P. 45. He seems to disapprove of the injunctions that were set forth in the beginning of the King's reign, for removing images out of the churches, and for abolishing some ceremonies; because the people stood so affected towards them.] If such regard were to be had to the pleasing of the people, why should they not be as well regarded in the matter of enclosures, which he expresses himself much for? But herein, whatsoever of a politician our author shewed himself, surely but an indifferent Protestant. If it were ground sufficient, not to reform religion, because it would give distaste to the superstitious people, religion must never be reformed: but in truth, vast were the numbers of people throughout this land, especially the most civilized parts of it, that at this time of day did earnestly desire a reformation in the worship of images, and the use of superstitious ceremonies.

And the injunctions.

P. 46. He makes the commitment of Bishop Boner, Bishop Gardiner, Bishop Tonstal, and Bishop Hethe, to be all in the first year of the King.] Boner indeed endured a short restraint in the Fleet then, but that which may be truly called his imprisonment, happened but in September 1549, Hethe's the same year, Tonstal's not before the year 1551. And only Gardiner's happened in the King's first year, though he were put at liberty again not long after. Nor was Boner put into prison for refusing the King's injunctions, as Hayward asserts, to make Boner's merits look the greater, for he did receive them, though under a protesta-

Bishops committed; and why.

BOOK II.

tion; but the true reason was, because he did not publish in a sermon the King's authority during his minority, as he was commanded. But hitherto, having recanted before the Council, for the ill manner of his receiving the injunctions and homilies from the King's visitors, he went along with the King's proceedings, swore obedience to the King, professed his assent and consent touching the state of religion then settled, directed out his letters, according to the Archbishop's precepts for abolishing images, abrogation of the mass, setting up Bibles in churches, &c. Neither was Gardiner's imprisonment this first year of the King, as this author asserts, because he preached that it were well these changes in religion should be stayed till the King were of years, but for his refractoriness to the King's proceedings. His second imprisonment indeed was occasioned by a sermon which he preached on St. Peter's day, in the second year of the King; not for preaching that the changes in religion should be stayed, but for omitting to speak of several matters committed to him in writing, by command of the
475 Council: as, concerning the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, the superstitions used towards St. Nicolas and other saints, concerning the authority of the King in his minority, concerning auricular confession, and some other things. Hethe was committed for refusing to subscribe the new book of ordinations. Nor was Hethe now bishop of Rochester, as our author names him, but of Worcester. He leaves out Day, bishop of Chichester, whom he might have mentioned among the rest of the said bishops committed.

Reciting acts of Parliament, whether fit for history.

P. 47. He holds the setting down acts of Parliament in history to be fruitless, and improper for a "true carried "history," as he expresses it; though he confesseth, a noble writer esteemed it a maim in history not to recite them.] And surely that noble writer, whoever he were, was right. And this was the practice of that noble historian the Lord Herbert, and that complete historian Mr. Camden. And certainly that must be but an imperfect history, however *true carried* he fancies it, that shall take little or no notice

of the great and public transactions that pass through the [illegible] and high Council of the nation, consisting of the peers, and wisest and wealthiest of the commons, assembled together in their Parliaments.

L. Sudley, whether a Papist.

P. 82. He suggests, that the Lord Sudley dissented from his brother the Duke of Somerset's opinions.] That is, in other words, that he was a Papist. No such thing appears in history, but rather, that he was of the religion now professed and countenanced: for one of his last requests, when he had the message sent to him to prepare for death, was, that his daughter might be committed to the care of the Duchess of Suffolk, a fast Protestant; and another was, that Mr. Latymer might be sent to him, to assist him with his counsel and prayers; who would not have been a ghostly father fit for his turn, had he been a Papist.

His fall.

Ibid. He makes the first cause of dissolving the knot of the two brothers' love, *viz.* of the Duke and the Lord Admiral, to proceed from the Duchess: and that she rubbed into the Duke's *dull capacity*, as he unhandsomely reflects on that great peer, that his brother sought to take away his life, and to attain his place.] And,

The Duke vindicated about it.

P. 83. That the Duke at length yielding himself to her, did devise his brother's destruction. And that being condemned by act of Parliament, within a few days after, a warrant was sent under his brother's hand for his execution. And lastly, that the accusations against him consisted of frivolous or pitiful matters.] By all this account of this lord's fall, he is represented to have come unjustly by his death, by the unnatural acting of his brother against him: and that he was set on to all this mischief, like a weak man, by his wife. This, if it were true, layeth a most heavy imputation upon the Duke: but surely he was no such man as he is here delivered down to be: he had better morals and more religion than this came to. The Admiral was certainly an evil man, turbulent, and full of ambitious designs, from the beginning of this King's reign. And his brother the Duke did often advise him, and earnestly dis-

BOOK II.

suade him from his dangerous courses, and used all the fairest means with him, pardoning what was past, and (that he might meet with his high mind) gratifying him with possessions, and the high and honourable office of lord admiral. Yet was he continually practising after this; he
476 raised soldiers, and threatened *he would make the blackest Parliament that ever was in England.* He is suspected to have poisoned his wife, that excellent woman Queen Katharine, that, being single, he might make his addresses to the Lady Elizabeth, the King's sister. So that, in fine, the Parliament did judge these things to be a traitorous aspiring to the crown. And surely Sir John Hayward had never read the act of Parliament, whereby that Lord was attainted, to term his accusations to be *frivolous or pitiful matters.* But I refer the reader to the fifteenth chapter of these Memorials, for further satisfaction about the justice of this lord's death. Indeed it doth appear, that his brother, with the rest of the Council, signed the warrant for his execution. But I am so far from believing that his death was acceptable to him, that surely it was a thing went very near him, out of that natural love and affection that he ever shewed to have had for him.

And verily all this is the less to be credited, *viz.* the controversy between the two wives for precedency, and the Duchess of Somerset's setting her husband upon this mischief, because it is taken from lying Sanders, or, at the best, from vulgar report.

The Admiral's ill life.

Ibid. He speaks of the Admiral's protestation at the point of his death; and that the open course and carriage of his life cleared him in the opinion of many.] What his protestations were, I know not, nor do I know any history that relates them; any more than that Stow writ, that he took it on his death, that he had never committed nor meant treason to the King or realm. The contrary to which his deeds declared; and he confessed himself, in the Tower, that he would have had the government of the King's person. But the course and carriage of his life, I am sure,

could not clear him, having during all this reign lived so known a turbulent and vicious life[a].

Then follows another most vile insinuation against the Protector, and the said reverend father and martyr, Hugh Latymer; *viz.* that he was set up by the said Protector, an instrument to preach false stories to the people, to take off the odium of the Lord Admiral's death, in these words:

Latymer slandered.

P. 83. Dr. Latymer, pretending all the gravity and sincerity of a professed divine, yet content to be serviceable to great men's ends, declared, in a sermon before the King, that while the Lord Sudley was a prisoner in the Tower, he wrote to the Lady Mary and the Lady Elizabeth, that they should revenge his death. He adds, that Latymer cast forth many other imputations, most doubted, many known to be untrue. And then from this story the author takes occasion to express his cankered mind against men in holy orders, in these words: "Some theologians have been em-"ployed to defile places erected only for religion and truth, "by defending oppressions and faction; distaining their "profession, and the good arts which they have learned, by "publishing odious untruths, upon report and credit of "others."] As though they were a mercenary, base sort of men, that, however sacred their office is, would be hired to be the trumpets of other men's lying inventions, for the better deceiving of the people. This author going thus out of his road, that he might give a lash to the *theologians*, as he calls them, shews his good-will to that order of men. But 477 to return to Latymer.

Vindicated.

Thus doth our author what lay in his power to render that grave and good man, and constant martyr for religion and truth, to be a public liar in the pulpit, to do a piece of service to the Duke. And he, that chose to die rather than to subscribe or acknowledge that to be true, which he

[a] Thus Latymer concerning him, in one of his sermons before the King: "That when the good Queen, his wife, had daily prayers before and after "noon in her house, the Admiral would get him out of the way. And that he "was a covetous, an ambitious, and seditious man, and a contemner of com-"mon prayer."

BOOK II.

thought to be false, is made such a profligate wretch, wilfully and openly to promulgate, before so solemn an assembly, uncertainties and downright lies.

Hayward goes with Sanders.

Hayward seems indeed to go hand in hand with Sanders, to defame this reverend man; who, speaking of Latymer, gives him this broad compliment, *His apostleship consisted in lying;* and then tells this story of him: That after the Duchess had invented the mischief against the Admiral, the Protector went and dealt with Latymer, that he should in his sermon traduce him before the people for a traitor. And that accordingly Latymer readily undertook it, and soon after in the pulpit told a tale of, I know not what, snares preparing against the King's Majesty by the Admiral; and therefore that he deserved death. So that by this account the Duke and the divine are represented as a couple of bloody wretches, combining together to make an innocent man seem guilty of treason, and then cry out for execution against him.

P. 85. The author here begins the relation of the Duke's first troubles; wherein he follows, almost word for word, Holinshed's history; only framing two fine speeches: one

P. 86.

to be spoken by the Lord Rich, lord chancellor, to the mayor and citizens of London, whereof we have not any footsteps in history, as I can find; the other to be delivered by George Stadlow, a grave citizen, to his fellow citizens: whose speech indeed we have in Holinshed; but our author is pleased to dress up and adorn it with much florid language, and several additions of his own: which seems more proper for a romance than an history.

Secretary Petre.

P. 94. Of Secretary Petre he gives this character, "who "under pretence of gravity, covered much untrustiness of "heart." An unfair character of a very wise and honest man, and long experienced in the public affairs, without any spot that ever I could find; except that he did comply with the changes of religion under the princes in whose reigns he served: which was a practice of a great number more besides himself.

P. 101. Speaking of the Duke, after his subscription to

the articles laid against him, and acknowledgment of his fault, and desire of pardon, our author thus gives his judgment: "assuredly he was a man of a feeble stomach, unable "to concoct a great fortune, prosperous or adverse: and "that he should have lost his life to preserve his honour: "and that he cast away life and honour together: and that, "as he thirsted after his brother's blood, so others thirsted "after his."] Would a man of a cooler temper than our author have presently judged the Duke so impotent and feeble, and unable to govern himself? Would he not rather have considered the circumstances wherein he stood, and what powerful enemies combined together against him, and thirsted for his ruin? The Duke might perhaps have been somewhat too hasty, if Sir John Hayward had been his counsellor, to have presently taken up arms, and ven- 478
tured life and honour together: and so might have lost both together, as in all probability he would, being so inferior in strength to his adversaries, who were, in effect, all the Council, except one or two. The Duke undoubtedly considered this, and also the danger the King was and would have been in, if this broil had proceeded further; and the danger of religion too, to which many of the other side had no great favour; and who, upon the condition of their assistance, would have made their terms: and it was not his feebleness therefore, but rather his caution and wisdom, that made him submit as he did, and ask pardon. As for his thirsting after his brother's blood, it was a calumny, as I have mentioned before.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Whether the Duke were of a feeble spirit.

P. 105. Sir John Mason, secretary of state.] He was not secretary of state, but secretary for the French tongue.

Sir John Mason.

P. 128. Having occasion to speak of the Marquis of Dorset, who was now raised to be Duke of Suffolk, according to his wont, he gives this disparaging character of him; "a "man for his harmless simplicity neither misliked nor "much regarded."] This nobleman was a great friend to the Reformation, and a patron of learned men. I have seen letters of Bucer and Bullinger to him. And, which is instead of all that can be said of him, he was the father of a

The Duke of Suffolk.

BOOK II.

very admirable, though unfortunate woman, the Lady Jane Grey. He was no such domineerer or boutefeu as Northumberland; but surely was never the worse for that.

Sir Robert Dudley.

Ibid. But of all the ill characters our author gives of men, none exceeds that he bestows upon Sir Robert Dudley, the great Duke of Northumberland's son: whom he calls, "*the true heir of his father's hate against persons of* "*nobility*, and *of his cunning to dissemble the same.* He was "afterwards," [he means under Queen Elizabeth, when he was Earl of Leicester,] "for lust and cruelty, a monster of "the Court, as apt to hate, so a most sure executioner of "his hate, yet rather by practice than by open dealing, as "wanting rather courage than wit." And finally, he attributes the King's death to him.] It is true, this man was none of the best, but is represented commonly worse than he was, especially by Parsons, in his book entitled, *Leicester's Commonwealth.* Out of which Hayward hath taken a character for Dudley: when other more wary men would hardly set down for truth what they read in that malicious book, and wrote by so envenomed an author. This character must not be denied him; that he was a good soldier, a gallant courtier, and a favourer of learning.

Marquis of Northampton.

P. 186. Of the Marquis of Northampton he had but a mean opinion too, and set an ill mark upon him, as well as he did upon the rest of the nobles of this King's Court. Of this Marquis he saith, that when he was crossed, or contentious with any, he never replied to any answer: which, he said, was a manifest sign of no strong spirit.] It was a manifest sign indeed of no contentious spirit, and that delighted not in fending and proving, as we say. But he means a meanness and lowness of spirit and courage. I think it not so manifest a sign; because sometimes this sparingness of words, and slowness of replies, proceeds from wisdom and discretion. But where he met with this account of the Marquis's temper, I know not; he was certainly able enough to make replies, if he had pleased, being of a very gay and florid fancy and wit.

479 P. 187. He writes not like an historian, when he gives us

CHAP. XXVIII.

so large an account of the imprisonment of the Bishop of Durham. He saith, "He was sent to the Tower for concealment of I know not what treason, written to him, I know not by whom, and not discovered until what shall I call the party, did reveal it."] In the Journal, our author met with the commitment of this Bishop for concealment of treason. And because he had read no more particulars of it, he would hint as though his imprisonment were unjust, and would cast the imputation of it upon the state, as a piece of forgery and oppression. Whereas by the minutes in the Council-Book, and the Book of Warrants to the seal, the particulars of this matter appear.

Bishop of Durham, why committed.

Ibid. Concerning the reason of the Lord Rich's relinquishing the chancellorship, and the ill character given by our author to the Bishop of Ely, that succeeded in that office, I have spoken in the foregoing book.

Lord Rich, bishop of Ely.

P. 144. The commission to thirty-two persons for framing a body of ecclesiastical laws, to be used in this kingdom, he saith, took no effect.] It took effect so far, that a book of laws was drawn up, and completely finished, and wanted nothing but the King's confirmation; which his death, and some other causes, unhappily prevented.

The commission for framing ecclesiastical laws.

And the reason he gives why this took no effect was, because of the number of the commissioners, and divers of them far remote, and others had great offices, that they could not afford meetings for so great a business. Also their differences of professions and ends necessarily raised difference in judgment.] But for remedying of all this, he might have known, that the King therefore issued out another commission in October 1551, to eight persons only, leaving the work in their hands to finish. And the Archbishop of Canterbury being one of these eight, knowing the great usefulness of the thing, hastened it, and in effect, himself completed it, as is shewn in the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer. But indeed the true reason why this excellent book, with so much study, and care, and consultation, well framed, had not authority given to it, was, because the nation, especially the great men, could not endure

BOOK II.

ecclesiastical discipline. And so Cox, one of the eight commissioners, wrote about this time to Bullinger, in the course of his correspondence, "We hate those bitter institutions of "Christian discipline."

The King's debts.

P. 155. The King's debts, he saith, were given forth to be at least 251,000*l.*] The King's debts, anno 1551, owing at home and abroad, were in all 241,179*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.* as they are particularly set down in a paper of Secretary Cecyl's, which may be seen before.

Chap. ix.

And in the page before, he is setting down from the Journal an account of what the King had paid of the money he took up at interest from abroad, namely, 63,000*l.* Flemish, paid in February, and 24,000*l.* in April.] Whereas in the Journal, the last sum is 14,000*l.* Which two sums came to 77,000*l.* together. And so it is set down in the Journal. From which he varies again; and instead of 77,000*l.* writes 87,000*l.* wilfully, the better to cover his former mistake.

480 P. 156. He errs again from the King's Journal. From which now all along he does but copy, with some little descants of his own. He writes, that Beaumont, master of the rolls, lent above 700*l.* of the King's money.] Whereas in the King's Journal it is 9000*l.*

Beaumont, master of the rolls.

P. 173. He saith, the Duke of Northumberland, in the contrivance of the settlement of the crown upon the Lady Jane, used the advice of two persons especially, *viz.* the Lord Chief Justice Mountague, who drew the letters patents, and Secretary Cecyl: both which furnished the patents with divers reasons, some of law, and some of policy in state.] Herein Sir John Hayward grossly wrongs the memory of both these gentlemen; out of what design, I know not.

Cecyl assisted not in the new settlement of the crown;

First, As for Cecyl, he was so far from assisting and drawing up this instrument of settlement, that he opposed it as much as he could, (and so Camden expressly saith:) though he signed with the rest. Moreover, I have seen an apology of his own drawing up about this matter. Wherein he writ, how he refused to subscribe the book, when none

of the Council did refuse, whereby he incurred the indignation of the Duke of Northumberland. That he refused to make a proclamation, (which was for the proclaiming Queen Jane,) and turned the labour to Throgmorton. That he refused the writing of a letter to send abroad in the realm, for the shewing Queen Jane's title. This he refused, because he would not write Queen Mary, *bastard:* and the Duke wrote it himself. That he avoided being present at the drawing up of the proclamation for the publishing of Jane's title, though he were especially appointed thereunto. That he avoided answering of the Queen's letters, which she wrote from Kenninghal to the Council, requiring their obedience. That he avoided likewise writing all public letters to the realm upon Jane's access to the crown. Moreover, that he practised with the Lord Treasurer to win the Lord Privy Seal, that he might by the Lord Russel's means cause Windsor castle to serve the Queen: and they two to levy the west parts for the Queen's service. That he opened himself to the Lord Admiral, whom he found thereto disposed. That he did the like to the Lord Darcy. That he purposed to have stolen down to the Queen's Highness, and Gosnold offered to lead him thither, because he knew not the way: and he had his horses ready at Lambeth for that purpose. That when he heard of this purpose first secretly, he disliked it, and fearing the event, conveyed away his lands, his goods, and his leases. All these things considered, who can think it true, that he furnished the settlement with articles taken from policy? The most he did was to sign with the rest. Which also he did as a witness to King Edward's hand, and not as an abettor or counsellor.

And Mountague, sore against his will.

This for Cecyl. Then for Sir Edward Mountague, the lord chief justice, how he stood affected, and what he did in this affair, may be seen by an original paper, drawn up by that judge's own hand, which his great grandchild, Edward Lord Mountague, of Broughton, communicated unto Dr. Fuller. The sum of which was, that he, and the rest of the judges, told the King, that the bill of articles shewed to them, according to which they should frame a book for the

Church Hist. b. viii. p. 1.

BOOK II.

settlement of the crown in the Lady Jane, was directly against the act of succession: which was an act of Parliament, and would be taken away by no such device. But when it was the King's absolute will, that a book should be made according to those articles, he took them. And the next day, he and the rest concluded to do nothing; but to report to the Lords, that not only the executing of this device was treason after the King's death, but the making of this device was presently treason: and so they did report to the Council. And that the Duke of Northumberland upon it was in a great fury, and called Sir Edward, traitor: and so he departed home, without doing any thing more. Afterwards Mountague received another letter from the Council, to come to the Court, he, and some other of the judges and lawyers. And being come, they were brought to the King; who demanding, why they had not made the book, Mountague told the King the reason. And moreover, that if they had, it were of no effect nor force, but utterly void, when the King should decease: and that the statute of succession could not be taken away, but by the same authority that made it, and that was a Parliament; and advised the King, that all might be deferred to a Parliament. The King said, they should make it, and afterwards it should be ratified by Parliament. That divers of the Lords then said, that if he and the rest refused now, they were traitors. So that, what with the Duke's anger the day before, and the King's and other Lord's now, he was in the greatest fear that ever he was in all his life. And so at last, being an old man, and for safety of his life, he told the King, that he had served his father and his Highness during his life, and loath he would be to disobey his commandment, and would for his own part obey it, so that he had his Highness's licence and commission, under the great seal, for the doing of it, and when done, to have a general pardon. Both which were granted him. And he and the rest made the device, as he writ, with sorrowful hearts and weeping eyes. And lastly, after he had done this, to shew how little he approved of putting by the true succession, he sent his

481

... to serve and assist Queen Mary with twenty men, with ... gentlemen of Buckinghamshire. By what is written sufficiently appears, our author hath wronged the memory of these two worthy men, and wronged posterity also in imposing upon their belief matters of falsehood.

Hayward's sense of his own writings.

His book called David's Tears.

Sir John Hayward in his lifetime was esteemed for his writings of English history: of which, what his own thoughts were may appear in his preface to a devout treatise of his, named *David's Tears*, written when he was not far from the conclusion of his life, and printed anno 1626. "Of mine own productions never any did fully content "me; and the approbation of others is no warrant to my "own judgment, tender and severe in what I do. They" [his productions] "may happily be sprinkled over, but "thoroughly died, I conceive, they are not. In case any "thing is excusable in them, it is not in regard of them-"selves, but in comparison with some other formless, un-"sinewy writings. Whereto, notwithstanding, I find good "allowance to be given. Assuredly knowing mine own "ignorance and defects, I wonder much at the constant as-"surance of many others. But modesty forbids us to speak "good or evil of ourselves." This is his own sense of his writings, which he calls his *productions*. Wherein, first, he declared that he was not satisfied with them: whether he were conscious of some wilful mistakes, or interpolations, or other deficiences in them, I know not. And perhaps he thought the best quality in them was his style 482
and language: which he seems to mean by their being *sprinkled over*, and his partiality and neglect of truth, meant by his phrase of their *not being thoroughly died*. But how imperfect soever they were, secondly, he valued them before other men's; which, however well thought on by other readers, and by the authors themselves, yet, to his most accurate eye, they were *formless and unsinewy*. And though in a seemingly modest fit he reckoned but meanly of his productions, and knew his own ignorance and defects, yet his judgment he valued sufficiently, styling it, *tender and severe in what he did*.

BOOK II.

Some character of this writer.

In truth, his temper seemed not well qualified for an historian, being touchy and morose, censorious, conceited, and too much aspiring: which was the cause, in probability, that as he had enemies, so he wanted interest enough to overpower them that opposed him and his advancement, and that intercepted him in it: so that he fell short of his expectation of some things he aimed at, and thought his merit deserved. And so in his old age he gave himself to retirement in some discontent, and there wrote his *David's Tears*. Which those words of his do express: "This is "the reason wherefore many well esteemed for sufficiency," [meaning himself for one,] "whose virtue forbids them to "be base, hang under the wheel, and cannot advance. Yea, "sometimes it happeneth, that while they are most ho-"nestly busied, men of scornful and beggarly ignorance, "separate from imitable qualities or endeavours, will be "nimble to nip from them such small matters as they have. "I confess I have been bitten by some such vipers," [a just punishment; as he had in his censures bitten others,] "who "think nothing sufficient that they have, nothing dishonest "that they do. But I envy not the gravel in any man's "throat. It sufficeth for me, that I have attained a quiet "contented life, free either from anguish in myself, or envy "at others, free either from wishing great matters, or "wanting some small." And so we leave this historian.

Preface to David's Tears.

483

CHAP. XXIX.

Commissions and proclamations issued from the King upon divers occasions, in the years 1550, 1551, 1552, *and* 1553.

BESIDES various notices and instructions which I have been furnished with from the Lord Chancellor Goodrick's leger-book, and King Edward's Book of Warrants, occasionally made use of by me in the foregoing history, there be many considerable matters besides, remaining in those manuscripts, which will serve notably to illustrate this reign. And therefore I shall here insert them under divers

heads, for better method, as precious REMAINS, *viz.* commissions and proclamations, gifts, grants, annuities, pardons, purchases, and offices; letters, warrants, licences, and passports; collations, presentations, and other grants to churchmen and universities; schools founded; and lastly, particular matters relating to the King's household; commencing from the fourth year of the King's reign, and the year of our Lord 1550. CHAP. XXIX.

I. COMMISSIONS. Anno 1550.

A commission to Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Nicolas Bishop of London, Thomas Bishop of Ely, Henry Bishop of Lincoln; Sir William Petre, Sir James Hales, knights; Griffyn Leyson, John Olyver, doctors of law; Richard Goodrick and John Gosnal, esquires; or to nine, eight, seven, six, five, or four of them, whereof the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Ely, the Bishop of Lincoln, and Sir William Petre, [and Sir James Hales, for he is added in the commission itself,] to be one: to call before them, at such days, times, and places as they shall think convenient, Stephen Bishop of Winchester, and all others whom they shall think good and necessary to be called, for the examination, trial, proof, and full determination of such matters as appertaineth unto him: and to require every such process, writing, and escript, as have passed in that matter: and he being called etisoons, [if he shall] refuse to conform himself according to the King's Majesty's commandment, to proceed against him to deprivation of his bishopric, and removing of him from the same. December 1550. This full commission, at length, is preserved by Mr. Fox, in his Acts and Monuments, first edition, p. 776. A commission for the trial of Gardiner, bishop of Winton.

A commission to Edward Duke of Somerset, to Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Rich, knight, Lord Rich, &c. William Earl of Wiltshire, John Earl of Warwick, John Earl of Bedford, William Marquis of Northampton, Edward Lord Clinton, Thomas Lord Wentworth, Cuthbert Bishop of Durham, William Lord Windsor, and William Lord Paget, or to two of them, to pro- A commission to prorogue the Parliament.

BOOK II.

rogue the Parliament that was adjourned to the 20th of January next, unto the second day of March following.

Anno 1550.

484 For Anabaptists, and irregular ministers of the sacraments.

A commission to Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, London, Lincoln, Norwich, Rochester, Nicolas Wotton, dean of Canterbury, William Petre, William Cecyl, Richard Cocks, Anthony Coke, James Hales, Thomas Smith, John Cheke, William May, John Taylor, Simon Haynes, Griffith Leyson, John Redman, Hugh Latymer, Giles Eire, Matthew Parker, Miles Coverdale, John Olyver, Richard Liel, Roland Taylor, Christopher Nevinson, Richard Goodrick, John Gosnold, Richard Wilks, Henry Sidal, and Nicolas Bullingham, or to any thirty-one, thirty, twenty-nine, twenty-eight, twenty-seven, twenty-six,——five, four, or three of them; whereof the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Norwich, the Bishop of Rochester, Nicolas Wotton, William Petre, William Cecyl, Richard Cox, James Hales, and William [May, I suppose,] to be one: to correct and punish all Anabaptists, and such as do not duly minister the sacraments according to the Book of Common Prayer, set forth by the King's Majesty. This was dated in January 1550.

A commission for proroguing the Parliament.

A commission to Edward Duke of Somerset, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Lord Rich, lord chancellor; William Earl of Wiltshire, John Earl of Warwick, John Earl of Bedford, William Marquis of Northampton, Henry Marquis of Dorset, Henry Earl of Arundel, Edward Lord Clinton, Thomas Lord Wentworth, and divers more, or any two of them, to prorogue the Parliament to the 30th of October next. This bore date in February 1550.

1551. For treaty with Scotland.

A commission to Thomas Bishop of Norwich, Sir Robert Bowes, Sir Leonard Beckwith, and Sir Thomas Chaloner, or to three of them, to determine with the Queen of Scots, or her commissioners, certain controversies risen between the King and her, since the late treaty of peace concluded betwixt the King's Majesty and the French King; as well of limits and confines, as of taking and delivering captains and pledges, and all manner of spoils, piracies, and

CHAP. XXIX.

Anno 1551.

either attempts done by either of their subjects. Dated April 15, 1551.

For Jersey.

A commission to Helier de Carteret, John Clerk, Clement Lemprier, esquires; Ninian Saunders, gent. Lewis Hampton, clerk; Charles Mabion, clerk; Richard Dinnarick, Nicolas Lemprier, Edward Denmarick, Laurence Hampton, jurats; Hugh Perrin and Nicolas Solomont, gentlemen; and to twelve, eleven, ten, nine,——or six of them, whereof Helier de Carteret, and John Clerk, or one of them at the least, to be one: giving them power and authority to call before them the inhabitants of Jersey, by the advice of Sir Henry Powlet, knt. captain there: and to assess every of them to be contributories, according to their goods and lands, towards the building of two fortresses to be edified, the one in the islet of St. Helier, and the other in the islet of St. Obyn there: and also a perpetual pension to be gathered of their lands, for the charges of the safe keeping of them: and to put their said order and cessment in writing, that it may remain for ever; with an authority given them to appoint officers to make all manner of provision for the edification of the said fortresses. This was dated in May.

To the Duke of Somerset, to be the King's justice in Bucks and Berks.

A commission to Edward Duke of Somerset, to be the King's justice, to inquire of all treasons, misprisions of treason, insurrections, rebellions, unlawful assemblies and conventicles, unlawful speaking of words, confederacies, conspiracies, false allegations, contempts, falsehoods, negligences, concealments, oppressions, riots, routs, murders, 485 felonies, and other ill deeds, whatsoever they be; and also all accessories of the same, in the counties of Bucks and Berks: and to appoint certain days and places for the inquiry thereof: and to be the King's lieutenant within the said counties, for levying of men, and to fight against the King's enemies and rebels, and to execute upon them the martial law; and to subdue all invasions, insurrections, &c. as shall chance to be moved in any place, as he shall repair to the limits of the said shires; with a commandment to all officers to assist him. And that the said commission

BOOK II.

be not prejudicial to the former commissions of oyer and terminer within the said counties.

Anno 1551.

The like for Lincoln and Nottingham.

A like commission to the Earl of Rutland and the Lord Clinton, for Lincoln and Nottingham.

For Norfolk.

The like to the Earl of Sussex, Sir Roger Townsend, Sir William Fermor, and Sir John Robertson, [Robsert perhaps,] for Norfolk.

For Stafford.

The like commission to the Earl of Warwick, the Viscount Hereford, and the Lord Paget, for Staffordshire.

For Sussex.

The like to the Earl of Arundel and the Lord La Ware, for Sussex.

For Essex.

The like to the Lord Chancellor [Lord Rich] the Earl of Oxon, the Lord Darcy, and Sir John Gate, for Essex.

For Wilts.

The like to Sir William Herbert, for Wiltshire.

For Ely.

The like to the Bishop of Ely, for the isle of Ely.

For Warwick and Oxon.

The like to the Earl of Warwick, for Warwick and Oxford.

For Surrey.

The like to the Lord Marquis of Northampton, for Surrey.

For Kent.

The like to the Lord Cobham, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, [Sir Thomas Cheny,] for Kent and Canterbury.

For Leicester and Huntingd.

The like to the Earl of Huntingdon, for Leicester and Huntingdon.

For Lancashire.

The like to the Earl of Darby, for Lancashire.

For Darby.

The like to the Earl of Shrewsbury, for Darby.

For Wales.

The like to Sir William Herbert, for the principality and marches of Wales.

For Suffolk.

The like to the Lord Darcy, Lord Wentworth, and Sir Anthony Wyngfield, for Suffolk.

For Huntingdon.

The like to Sir Robert Trewhit, and Mr. Thomas Audley, for Huntingdon.

For Northam. Bedf. Hertf. and Cambrid.

The like to the Lord Marquis of Northampton, for Northampton, Bedford, Hertford, and Cambridgeshire.

For Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwal,

The like to the Earl of Bedford, for Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwal.

For Southampton.

The like to the Lord Treasurer, [Earl of Wiltshire,] for Southampton.

The like to the Lord Paget and Sir Roger Cholmely, for Middlesex. All these commissions were dated in May.

Anno 1551.

For Middlesex.

A commission for Scilly.

A commission to Sir William Godolphin, knt. John Killigrew, and John Godolphin, esquires, personally to repair to the isle of Sulley, [Scilley,] and to make a perfect diligent survey of all the same isle, and to set out the number of acres of land within the same; and to divide the same into so many parts as may serve for tenants, and householders of husbandry, allowing them sufficient land for tilling, and sufficient pasture: and to grant the same for twenty-one years, reserving to the King reasonable rents. And for their better instruction, the King hath sent there enclosed certain instructions. And that they signify in the Chancery, in distinct writing in parchment, under their hands, within three months after they shall accomplish the same commission, their doing therein. Dated in May. 486

For mines in Ireland.

A commission to Robert Record, esq. appointed surveyor of all the mines of metal and minerals in the realm of Ireland; that he, during pleasure, shall as well rule and order the affairs and works concerning the said mines, and provisions of the same, as to appoint and take all manner of provision, labours, and carriages, both by land and water, as well in the realm of England as Ireland. And that the treasurer, comptroller, and seymaster of the late erected mints, and other officers, in all their alleys, [alloyes,] assays, mixtures, meltings, blanchings, sheerings, and other their works, use the counsel of the said surveyor. Dated in May.

For fortifying Scilley.

A commission to John Killigrew, to take up and provide all manner of workmen, and labourers of all sorts, and all such stuff, of what kind soever it be, as shall be thought requisite and needful for furtherance and finishing of the new fortification within the isle of Scilley. Dated in June.

For a divorce.

A commission to the Bishop of Chester, William Cliff, Richard Liel, Jeffrey Glyn, and Henry Harvey, doctors of the law, and George Wimesly, bachelor of law, or any two of them; that upon the proof of the manifold adultery of Elizabeth Atherton, they separate and divorce her from John Atherton her husband. Dated in June.

BOOK II.

Anno 1551.

For a divorce.

A commission to Sir William Petre, secretary, Sir Richard Read, &c. upon due proof of the manifest adultery of the Lady Mary Luttrel, to separate and divorce her from Sir John Luttrel her husband. Dated in June.

For proroguing the Parliament.

A commission, dated in August, to the Duke of Somerset, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. or any two of them, to prorogue the Parliament to the 4th of November next.

For visiting the Savoy.

A commission to Sir Roger Cholmely, Sir Richard Rede, Richard Goodric, esq. —— Broke, [Dr. Oliver,] and Dr. Liel, or to six, four, or three of them, to visit the house or hospital, commonly called *the Savoy:* and to inquire and search, by all ways and means, not only how and in what sort the foundation, statutes, and ordinances thereof have been and be observed, and wherein the same doth agree with the common order and proceeding of the realm in causes of religion; and how the ministers, both men and women, give attendance, and do their duties in their several offices; but also of the life, behaviour, and conversation of all the ministers aforesaid; and the state of their house, and order of their lands: and to call before them such men as they shall think expedient, for the attaining of more knowledge touching the premises: and to advertise the King's Majesty, or his Privy Council, of their proceedings. This was dated in September.

For trial of the Bishops of Worcester and Chichester.

A commission to Sir Roger Cholmely, knt. Sir Richard Rede, knt. Rich. Goodrick, esq. John Gosnold, esq. John Oliver, and Richard Liel, doctors of the law, or to six, five, or four of them; authorizing them, at such several days, times, and places, and as often as they shall think good, to call before them the Bishops of Worcester and Chichester, and every of them, several and apart, and all other whom they shall think good and necessary, for the examination,
487 trial, proof, and full determination of such matters as be laid against them; and to require all process, writings, and escripts, either remaining with the Council, or otherwise: and finding that the said Bishops, and either of them, have not conformed themselves according to the King's pleasure,

commandment, or monitions given by the Council, by the King's commandment, to proceed against them, and every of them, to deprivation of their several bishoprics. This bore date in September.

CHAP. XXIX. Anno 1551.

A commission, dated in October, to Edward Duke of Somerset, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Lord Rich, lord chancellor, William Marquis of Winchester, &c. and to two of them, to prorogue the Parliament from the 2d of March until the 4th of November next.

For proroguing the Parliament.

A commission, dated October 22, to Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Nicolas Bishop of London, and Richard Cocks, almoner, Peter Martyr, Rowland Tayler of Hadley, Bartholomew Traheron, John Lucas, John Gosnold: to consider all the King's ecclesiastical laws, according to a statute of Parliament made 3°. reg. Edw. VI. wherein thirty-two persons were appointed for the same use; and to gather and put in order in writing all such of them as they shall think convenient, and other laws ecclesiastical, as they shall think meet to be used within the realm: and to deliver the same unto the King's Majesty, that they may be further considered, according to his statutes.

For framing ecclesiastical laws.

A commission, dated October 26, to John Beaumont, esq. Sir William Portman, Sir James Hales, Sir Richard Rede, John Olyver, and William Cook, and to five, four, or three of them, to hear and determine any manner of matters before the King in his Chancery, between his subjects, now hanging, or hereafter to be exhibited; with authority to award out all manner of process that hath been accustomed therefore: and to punish all manner of contempts, and do all other circumstances necessary for the same; with a commandment to all the officers to attend upon five, four, or three of them. And all things done by them to stand in like force as if they were done by the Lord Chancellor. [The Lord Chancellor Rich was now sick.]

For despatching Chancery matters.

A commission, in November, to Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Lord Rich, lord chancellor, &c. to prorogue the Parliament from the 4th of November to the 23d of January following.

To prorogue the Parliament.

BOOK II.

A commission, in November, to Edward Lord Clinton, to christen the French King's child.

Anno 1551.

To christen the French King's child.

A commission to the said Lord Clinton, and Sir William Pickering, jointly and severally, to hear all manner matters with the French King: concerning the marriage between the King's Majesty and the Lady Elizabeth, the French King's daughter, and the confirmation thereof according to their instructions, which they must receive by virtue of the same.

To treat of a match with France.

For the ecclesiastical laws.

A commission, in November, to Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Bishop of Ely, Richard Cocks, almoner, Peter Martyr, William May, Rowland Tayler, John Lucas, and Richard Goodrick, to confer together touching the ecclesiastical laws. [This commission superseded that made in October, in which three persons were nominated commissioners, which it was thought convenient afterward to change, *viz.* the Bishop of London, Barth. Traheron, and John Gosnold, for the Bishop of Ely, William May, and Rich. Goodrick.]

488 A commission, dated in December, to John Lord Mordaunt, Sir John Saint John, Sir Urian Bruerton, knights, Nic. Luke, Francis Pyget, and Lewis Dives, esquires; to inquire by all ways and means, how the enhancing of prices of corn, victuals, and other things, contained in a proclamation annexed to the said commission, have grown, and daily grow, by the insatiable greediness of divers covetous persons in the county of Bedford; and to punish all such as shall disobey any thing contained in the same. And a clause therein writ, to make out thirty-two commissions for like effect to others there named.

For inquiry into the dearth.

For Calais and Guisnes.

A commission, dated in December, to Sir Richard Cotton and Sir Richard Bray, knts. to repair with certain instructions to the town of Calais, and castle and county of Guisnes, and to the other pieces on that side the seas: and there shewing their commission, do hear the opinions and advice, as well of the counsellors in each of the said pieces, as of other officers there, concerning the works, buildings, and fortifications of the said pieces.

A commission, in January, for assistance in hearing and determining of the causes of the Chancery, to the Master of the Rolls, Sir William Portman, Sir James Hales, Sir Richard Rede, William May, Griffyn Leyson, John Olyver, Anthony Bellasis, and William Cook. [The Bishop of Ely having the great seal lately delivered to him.]

For assisting in the Chancery.

A commission, in January, to the Lord Chancellor, John Earl of Bedford, Sir John Gates, Sir William Petre, &c. to call before them the heads and inferior ministers of the Court of Exchequer, the Court of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Court of Wards and Liveries, the Court of Augmentations, the Court of First-fruits and Tenths: charging and commanding them to make before them perfect and full declaration in writing under their hands, of all the King's revenues, profits, and casualties, within their several charges and offices, answerable in the said courts before the date of the said commission, and of all rents, resolutes, fees, annuities, pensions, and other deductions.

For inquiry into the King's courts about his revenues.

A commission, in March 1552, to Henry Earl of Westmerland, the Lord Wharton, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Sir Thomas Palmer, or to four, three, or two of them; to conclude with the Scots Queen's ambassadors or commissioners, for and concerning a certain parcel of land, called *the debatable land*, and of other lands in the marches of Scotland; and to make division thereof.

1552. For the debatable land.

A commission, in the same month, to John Earl of Bedford, William Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Darcy, Sir William Petre, Sir John Baker, Sir Philip Hoby, Sir Robert Bows, Sir Thomas Wroth, Edward Griffyth, John Gosnold, or to ten, nine, eight, seven, or six of them, to put in execution all such martial laws as shall be thought by their discretions most necessary to be executed. Instructions given to them in nine articles.

To put martial laws in execution.

A commission, the same month, to the Lord Chamberlain, the Bishop of Norwich, Sir John Gates, Sir William Petre, Sir Robert Bows, Sir Thomas Wroth, Sir Richard Cotton, Sir Walter Mildmay, and John Gosnold, or to nine, eight, seven, six, five, or four of them; to sur-

For survey of the King's courts.

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

489

vey and peruse the state of all the King's courts, erected or kept for the custody of the King's lands, and for the answering and payment of any manner of rents and revenues, &c. And instructions given to them in five articles.

For keeping the seals of the duchy.

A commission, the same month, to Sir John Gates, authorizing him, as well to keep the privy and great seals of the duchy still, as also to do all other things that shall concern the said office, during the King's pleasure, in as ample manner as the Lord Paget had it, with authority to appoint a vice-chancellor.

For the King's justices of the counties.

Commissions in May for the counties in England, to the noblemen, and other great men, to be the King's justices; to inquire of all treasons, misprisions of treason, insurrections, rebellions, unlawful assemblies, and conventicles, unlawful speaking of words, confederacies, conspiracies, false allegations, contempts, falsehoods, neglects, concealments, riots, routs, murders, felonies, &c.

For sale of chantry lands.

A commission in June for the sale of chantry lands, directed to Sir John Gates, Sir Robert Bows, Sir Richard Sackvile, Sir Walter Mildmay, knights; Richard Goodrick and John Gosnold, esquires.

To survey bells, plate, &c. belonging to churches.

Divers commissions and instructions in June, to certain persons within every shire of the realm; to view and survey the bells, plate, jewels, vestments, or ornaments, belonging to every church within the said shire; and to take account, and seize into their hands, to his Majesty's use, such of the said goods as have been at any time since or before the last survey embezzled away.

To Clarentieux, for survey of arms.

A commission to Thomas Hawly, alias Clarentieux, king of arms, and principal herald from the river of Trent southward; to visit and oversee within his province, the arms, devices, and cognisances of all noble and gentlemen: and if any fault be found in any their coat armours, standards, banners, &c. contrary to the usage of this realm, to give knowledge thereof to the King's Majesty and his Council.

For trial of the Bishop of Durham.

A commission in September, to Sir Roger Cholmely, Sir Richard Rede, John Gosnold, Richard Goodrick, Robert Chidley, ——— Stamford, esquires, and Richard Liel,

men of law, or to seven, six, or five of them; to examine and call before them, at such times and places as they shall think convenient, Cuthert, bishop of Durham, [and examine him,] of all manner of conventicles, conspiracies, contempts, and concealments, or other offences: and if he be found guilty, to deprive him of his bishopric, and otherwise to do the premises according to their wisdoms, &c.

For punishment of erroneous opinions.

A commission, dated in October, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and others, for examination and punishment of erroneous opinions in religion.

For examination of the officers of the treasuries.

A commission, in December, to John Duke of Northumberland, John Earl of Bedford, Henry Duke of Suffolk, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Darcy, Sir Thomas Cheyney, Sir John Gates, Sir Thomas Wroth, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Thomas Mildmay, esq. or to five of them; to call before them, at such time and place as they shall think meet, the treasurer, under-treasurer, and teller of the Exchequer, the treasurer of the Court of Augmentations, the treasurer of the Chamber, the treasurer of the First-fruits, the receiver-general of the Wards, the receiver-general of the duchy of Lancaster, the treasurer of the town and marches of Calais, 490 the treasurer of the town and garrison of Berwick, and all other treasurers, which now be, or heretofore have been, since the 24th year of the King's Majesty's father's reign, or their heirs or executors; or all and every paymaster, surveyor, mustermaster, purveyor, victualler, and other persons, which at any time within the time aforesaid have received of the King's Majesty, or his said late father, any sum or sums of money, treasure, bullion, victuals, provision, or other goods and chattels, either to be employed in the wars, buildings, fortifications, or other affairs; causing and compelling them which have not yet accounted for their several charges and receipts, to make and declare before them a full and perfect account of all such sums of money, obligations, specialties, treasures, bullion, victuals, provisions, &c. as they, or any of them, received; and also of the

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

payment, and disbursage, and discharge of the same, and every part thereof. And if any of them shall be found indebted to the King, to proceed for the due satisfaction and payment thereof.

To inquire into lead, belmetal, plate, &c.

A commission, in the same month, to the Duke of Northumberland, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Darcy, Lord Clinton, Sir Richard Cotton, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Philip Hoby, Sir Walter Mildmay, Richard Goodrick, Thomas Mildmay, or to four of them; not only to see how the King's Majesty is satisfied of all such lead, belmetal, plate, jewels, ornaments, stock and store-goods, as come and is due unto the King's Majesty by reason of divers commissions and visitations, and by reason of the dissolution of divers monasteries, priories, colleges, chantries, &c. and by attainder of divers persons; but also for divers forfeits of jewels, silver, bullion, plate, gold, and silver.

Commission for inquiry into monies due for sales.

A commission, in January, to the Bishop of Ely, lord chancellor, the Bishop of Norwich, Sir Richard Cotton, &c. to examine, search, and try, as well by the record of the Chancery, as by all other ways, what sums of money were at any time heretofore due unto the King or his father, for the sales of lands, possessions, sithence the 4th of Feb. an. 27 Henry VIII. and how the same was answered.

For collection of church stuff.

A commission, in the same month, to Sir Richard Cotton, Sir John Gates, Sir Robert Bowes, Sir John Mason, Sir John Baker, Sir Walter Mildmay, John Lucas, Thomas Mildmay, esquires, or to four of them; for the collection of church stuff, plate, jewels, ornaments, &c.

For determining a matter between Fran. Chaloner, &c.

A commission, in February, to the Dean of St. Paul's, Thomas Gawdy, Griffyn Leyson, William Staunford, William Cook, and Richard Catlyn, or to three of them; for the understanding, hearing, and final determining of a matter in controversy between Francis Chaloner, and Agnes his wife, daughter to Sir William Bowyer, late alderman of London, deceased, and the executors and overseers of his last will and testament.

A commission, dated in the foresaid month, to Richard

Stephen, for the finding of ores of gold and silver, and other metals, within the counties of Darby and Chester, with license of the owners.

CHAP. XXIX.

Anno 1552.

For finding gold and silver ore.

A commission, the same month, to the Marquis of Northampton, the Lord Bray, Sir John St. John's, Sir Urian Brereton, Richard Snow, and Lewis Dyve; to make perfect survey of all manner of church goods within the county of Bedford. And that the like commissions be made out and directed to the persons in the end of the said commissions, for the shires, cities, and towns therein declared.

To inquire into church goods.

491

A commission, dated in March, to Thomas Bishop of Norwich, Sir John Gates, Sir Philip Hoby, &c. to sell for ready money any of the King's manors, lands, tenements, &c. to the yearly value of 1000*l.*

To sell lands to raise money.

A commission, in April 1553, to Sir Richard Cotton, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Walter Mildmay, knights, and Edmund Pigeon, clerk of the wardrobes, or to three, or two of them; to take account of Jane Cecyl, and Sir William Cecyl, knt. administrators of the testimony of Richard Cecyl, [yeoman of the wardrobes, deceased,] for certain robes, apparel, and jewels of the King, in the custody of the said Richard.

1553.

To take account of the apparel in the wardrobe.

A commission, in May, to Sir Richard Cotton, Sir John Gates, Sir Roger Cholmely, &c. to call before them all treasurers, receivers, bailiffs, collectors, &c. or other persons, that do demand allowance for the falls of any sums of money alleged to be lost, by reason of two proclamations; and to consider the same in their accounts.

To consider receivers for the fall of money.

To these commissions I add a few proclamations.

II. Proclamations.

1551.

Against melting down the King's coin.

A proclamation that none should melt any testour or shilling, groat, half-groat, penny, halfpenny, or farthing, or any other coin of silver, being current within the realm; to make vessel, plate, or any other thing, upon pain of forfeiture of four times the value of the money so molten, and to suffer imprisonment and other pains. Dated in September 1551.

Declaring the several values of

A proclamation declaring, that the King's Majesty hath ordered and established to be made within his mints these

BOOK II.

Anno 1551. gold and silver coin.

several coins, as well of silver, in fineness of the standard, as also of gold, as hereafter ensueth: that is to say, one piece of silver monies, which shall be current for five shillings of the lawful monies aforesaid; another piece, which shall be called *the piece of two shillings and sixpence* of the lawful monies; the third piece, which shall be called *the sterling shilling*, current for twelve pence; the fourth piece, which shall be half of the said shilling, shall be current for sixpence. Also the King's Majesty hath ordered to have four pieces of small monies made likewise current: that is to say, the first piece shall be called *a penny*, with a double rose, and shall be current for a penny of the lawful monies aforesaid; the second shall be called *an halfpenny*, with a single rose; and the third piece *a farthing*, with a porteullis. [A fourth piece is here wanting, whether it should be the groat or the twopence, I know not.]

And of the coins of gold as here ensueth: that is to say, the old sovereign of fine gold, which shall be current for thirty shillings of lawful money of England; another piece of fine gold, called *the angel*, shall be current for ten shillings; the third piece of fine gold, which shall be called *the angelet*, half of the angel, current for five shillings. And further, a whole sovereign of crown gold shall be current for twenty shillings; the second piece of crown gold, which shall be called *the half sovereign*, shall be current for ten
492 shillings; and the third piece of crown gold, which shall be called *a crown*, current for five shillings; the fourth piece of crown gold, which shall be called *the half crown*, shall be current for two shillings sixpence of the lawful monies aforesaid.

And the King's Majesty strictly chargeth and commandeth all manner of persons within his realms and dominions, to receive and pay the said several pieces of money, as well of silver as of gold, at the several rates before rehearsed, upon pain of the King's high displeasure, and to be further punished as his Highness shall think convenient.

And his express commandment is, that all such base monies which his Majesty did lately, by his several procla-

CHAP. XXIX.

Anno 1551.

...tions, reduce to the value of a lower rate, shall pass and go current in payment in like manner and sort as his Highness's last proclamation did declare, until such time as his Majesty's mints may with diligence convert the same into his said new coins; which his Majesty mindeth to have done with all possible expedition.

And his Majesty signifieth to all his loving subjects, that if they do bring in a quantity of monies now current, into his Grace's mint within the Tower of London, they shall have the same received there by tale at the value as they be now current upon bills: and they shall, in as convenient time as may, be repaid for the same monies now current by tale in other the King's Majesty's new money afore declared. This came forth in October 1551.

That the late assessment of the prices of provisions should cease.

A proclamation, set forth in November 1551, declaring, that the King's pleasure is, that the proclamation set forth for the cessing the prices of cattle and other victuals, and all pains, forfeitures, and prices therein contained, shall from henceforth cease, and be put no further in execution. [The proclamation for assessing the prices of cattle and provision, and to which this refers, came out anno 1549, and may be read in the foregoing history.]

Against false rumours of the King's new coin.

A proclamation, in December 1551, charging and commanding all the King's true subjects not to credit such vain, false, and seditious rumours concerning certain pieces of his Highness's coin now made, which have been well stricken, that his Majesty's arms do not appear in the same, &c. to be seditiously declared.

Against buying and selling of coin.

A proclamation, the same month and year, prohibiting the buying and selling of coin at other prices than the same is current by the King's late proclamation.

Against frays in churches.

A proclamation, Feb. 20, 1551, prohibiting frays and fightings in cathedral churches, and bringing in horses and moyles into the same.

1552. For all persons infected to avoid the Court.

A proclamation, in August 1552, to avoid all manner of persons infected with pestilence, or other outrageous diseases, or having any person in their houses therewithal infected, from the Court, and other places, whereunto the

BOOK II.

King's Majesty shall repair in this his Majesty's progress: and also forbidding any of the inhabitants of Pole or Wimburn Minster, by reason of the plague there, to resort to the Court at Woodlands, or Canford, during his Majesty's abode there.

Anno 1552.

To put in execution an act for tillage.

A proclamation, in November 1552, willing and charging all justices of peace diligently to have respect to the due execution of a statute made in the last session of the Parliament, for tillage, to be used as it was in any one year since the first year of the reign of King Henry VIII.

493

For keeping Lent.

A proclamation, in February 1552, that no person after the publishing hereof, having no licence to eat flesh, do willingly eat any manner of flesh in time of Lent, or other fasting days, upon the pain and penalty contained in a statute in that behalf made.

For the price of Gascoin wine.

A proclamation, the same month and year, that no persons that sell wine by retail, sell above eight pence a gallon of Gascoin wine, four pence a pottle, and two pence a quart, and a penny a pint, upon pain limited therefore.

CHAP. XXX.

Divers acts of the King's grace and favour, shewed to his courtiers and others.

WE now proceed to set down various rewards, liberalities, honorary and beneficial trusts, &c. conferred by the King upon divers persons.

III. *Gifts, grants, annuities and offices, pardons and purchases.*

1550. Annuity to Cecyl, secretary.

An annuity of 100*l.* to William Cecyl, one of the King's secretaries, in consideration of his said office, during the King's pleasure: to be paid at the Augmentation, from Michaelmas last, half yearly. Dated October , 1550.

Bell-clappers granted to Champion and Chichester.

A grant to Arthur Champion, and John Chichester, of all the clappers of the bells commanded to be taken down within the counties of Devon and Cornwall, with all the

son and other furniture thereunto belonging. Dated in November. CHAP. XXX.

A grant, dated in November, unto John Lord Sheffield, son and heir to Edmund, late Lord Sheffield, deceased; to bestow himself in marriage at his own free election and choice, without any fine or payment to be required in the Court of Wards and Liveries, or elsewhere, to the King's use, for the value of his marriage, being in minority: in consideration of the great charge that his said father sustained in the King's war at Norwich. [Where he was killed the last year.] Anno 1550. To the Lord Sheffield, under age, the gift of his marriage.

The office of steward of the manor of Rising in the county of Norfolk, and the constableship of the castle there, to [Sir] John Robsert, and Sir Robert Dudley, [a son of the Earl of Warwick, and that married the daughter and heir of the said Sir John,] for life, and to the longer liver of them: with a fee of 40*s.* by the year for the office of stewardship, and for the constableship 13*l.* 8*d.* per ann. and for the office of master of the game 4*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.* per ann. and 53*s.* 4*d.* for the wages of two forests: to be paid by the receivers of the premises. Dated in December. To Sir John Robsert, and Sir Rob. Dudley. 494

The office of master of the rolls to John Beaumont, esq. for life: with all fees and profits thereunto belonging, in as large and ample manner as Sir Robert Southwel lately had it. Dated in December. To John Beaumont, esq.

The office of keeping the chief messuage of the manor of Esshcr in Surrey, and the keeping of the gardens and orchard there, with the office of lieutenant of the chase of Hampton Court, to John Earl of Warwick, and John Lord Lisle, during their lives, and the longest liver. Dated in December. To the Earl of Warwick, and Lord Lisle.

An annuity of 5*l.* to Nic. Bacon, esq. with the wardship and marriage of Edward Fox, without disparagement, during his minority. And so from heirs male to heirs male. Dated in January. To Nic. Bacon.

An annuity of 200 marks to Sir John Zouch, knt. for life, after Elizabeth Zouch's death, late abbess of Shafts- To Sir John Zouch.

BOOK II.

bury: to be paid at the Augmentation quarterly. Dated in January.

Anno 1550.

To Sir Martin Bowes.

Sir Martin Bowes, sub-treasurer of the money and coin in the mint of the Tower of London: which place he surrendered, and had an annuity granted him therefore, dated the month above; besides the annuity of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* granted him by the King his Majesty's father, for his good service done in the said office.

To the same.

A grant to the said Sir Martin, of the same date, wherein he was found indebted to the King in the sum of 10,000*l.* upon his account taken by John Earl of Warwick, Sir William Herbert, and Sir Walter Mildmay, commissioners appointed to hear and determine all accounts and reckonings of the King's mints within this realm, that he shall pay and discharge the same as followeth; that is to say, in hand 3000*l.* and so at divers payments the rest, allowing him time.

To the same.

A pardon to Sir Martin Bowes, of all treasons, trespasses, contempts, &c. done and committed by the said Martin, concerning the money and coin of the King's Majesty and his father's, before the date of these presents; and of all unjust and false making of money, and payments of the same; and of all other offences done contrary to the effect of the common law, or contrary to any statute, act, provision, proclamation, &c. or contrary to any prescription, custom, &c. Dated as above.

To Thomas Marsh.

The office of Clerk of the Council to Thomas Marsh, for life, after the death of Richard Eden and Thomas Eden, with a fee of 40 marks per ann. to be paid at the Exchequer quarterly. Dated in March.

To the Earl of Warwick.

A gift to John Earl of Warwick, in consideration of the manor of Assher and park, granted by the King, of all the manor of Chelsey, and the chief mansion house. To the yearly value of 30*l.* 3*s.* 1¾*d.* Dated in March.

To John Leland.

The keeping of John Layland [Leyland] the younger, being mad, to John Layland the elder, with all his lands, tenements, rents, &c. in as large and ample manner as the

said John the younger, being in his right mind, had the same. Dated in March.

To Guillim Stretes.

Guillim Stretes, the King's painter, had paid him 50 marks, for recompence of three great tables made by the said Guillim. Whereof two were the pictures of his Highness, sent to Sir Thomas Hoby and Sir John Mason, [ambassadors abroad,] the third a picture of the late Earl of Surrey, attainted: and, by the Council's commandment, fetched from the said Guillim's house. Dated in March 1551.

495

To Sebastian Cabote.

To Sebastian Cabote [the great seaman] 200*l.* by way of the King's Majesty's reward. Dated in March 1551.

To Sir Tho. Darcy.

The creation of Sir Thomas Darcy, and his heirs male of his body, to the title of Baron of Chich in Essex, by the voice of the Parliament. Dated in April.

To the same.

A gift to the said Sir Thomas Darcy, and to his heirs male, of the reversion of the house and seat of the late monastery of Chich St. Osyth, with the appurtenances, in the county of Essex, with the house and scite the Lady Mary hath during her life, with divers other lands, tenements, &c. together with a further gift unto him in fee-simple, of the manor of Lucton, alias Loughton; with divers other lands in the county of Devon. All extending to the yearly value of 467*l.* 18*s.* 1¾*d.* To hold the entailed lands *in capite* by one knight's fee; and the land in fee-simple *in capite*, by the half of one knight's fee. Dated in April.

To Laurence Torrentinus.

A privilege to Laurence Torrentinus, printer to the Duke of Florence, for seven years, to print the book of Digests and Pandects of the civil law of the Romans: and that none shall print the same book during that time, without his licence. Dated in April.

To the Earl of Warwick.

The office of high marshal of England to John Earl of Warwick, for life, in as ample manner as John Mowbray, and Thomas late Duke of Norfolk, had and enjoyed the same. The patent dated in April.

To the Lady Elizabeth.

A gift to the Lady Elizabeth, the King's sister, for the term of her life, of all the scite of the late monastery of Missenden, in the county of Bucks, with divers other

BOOK II.

lands, &c. to the yearly value of 306*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* which land before were given to her, and for divers considerations now signed, the month above.

Anno 1551.

To John Gipken.

A privilege to John Gipken, of London, [a Dutchman, lately made free,] bookseller, for ten years, to print, or cause to be printed, the Herbal in English, compiled by W. Turner, doctor in physic: and that none other shall print the same. Dated in April.

To John Cheke, esq.

A gift to John Cheke, esq. in fee-simple, in consideration of the surrendering of 100 marks rent granted him by letters patents, dated at Westminster, Aug. 26. ann. 2 Edward VI. for twenty-one years, if it should so long please the King, of all the manor of Stoke juxta Clare, in the counties of Suffolk and Essex, with divers other lands, tenements, &c. all to the yearly value of 145*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* to hold all the premises *in capite*, by the fortieth part of a knight's fee: except the fuller mill in Stoke, the guildhall house in Stoke, the Pistern pasture, and other premises in Spalding, and the rectory of Sandon, and other premises in Sandon; to be holden as of the manor of Greenwich, by fealty only. Paying yearly to the King for the manor of Stoke, 4*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* Dated in May.

To John Fowler.

The keeping and governance of Richard and Edward Dautry, idiots, to John Fowler, groom of the privy chamber, during their lives, and of all their lands, &c. with a grant to the said John of all the revenues of the said lands, &c. from the death of Sir John Dautry, knt. their father. Dated in May.

496 To Earl Warwick.

A gift to John Earl of Warwick, in fee-simple, of Otford in Kent, with divers other lands, &c. Value yearly 49*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* Dated in May.

To Will. Turk.

A grant to William Turk, groom of the privy chamber, of all William Rastal's leases, goods, moveables, and immoveables, being forfeited to the King by the said Rastal, for going beyond the seas without licence, contrary to a statute and proclamation in that behalf. Dated in May.

To John and Thomas Leonard.

The office of prothonotary, or clerk of the crown, to John Leonard and Thomas Leonard, for life, and the longest

ner, of the counties of Glamorgan, Monmouth, Brecknock, and Radnor, in all courts, terms, sessions, &c. with the making and entering of all manner of writs, processes, declarations, &c. with all fees and profits thereunto belonging, without account making. Which office John Leonard surrendered, to have this joint patency. [Thomas probably being his son or heir.]

To the mayor and commonalty of London.

St. Thomas's hospital.

A gift, dated in July, to the mayor and commonalty of the city of London, and their successors, of all the house and site of the late hospital of Thomas Becket in Southwark, commonly called St. Thomas's hospital, in Surrey, with divers other lands, &c. ornaments, lead, and goods belonging to the said hospital, to the yearly value of 154*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.* To be holden all by fealty only in soccage, as of the manor of East Greenwich. And to take the profit from the Annunciation of our Lady last; with a new erection of the said hospital, and the appropriation thereof to the said mayor and commonalty, and their successors. And that all the profits of the said land shall go to the finding of the poor yearly, except such as shall go to the finding of two masters, two sisters, one porter, and the overseer of the said hospital. And that the King shall appoint commissioners from time to time, to visit the said hospital, and to see the same lands to be spent and employed, [according to the intent of the royal donor.] And that the officers thereof shall pay no first-fruits and tenths.

To Sir John Gates.

A gift to Sir John Gates, for life, in consideration of surrendering the foresaid hospital of St. Thomas into the King's hands, granted unto him by his Majesty's father's letters patents, for life, with all the profits, and without account rendering, of all the manors of Bradwel, Munden, Lawford, in the county of Essex, and other lands, &c. to the yearly value of 208*l.* 9*s.* 9½*d.* Dated in July.

To the same.

The office of keeping the capital messuage or mansion, late of Charles Duke of Suffolk, in Southwark, and of the garden, orchard, and park there, to Sir John Gates, for life, with the office of high steward and bailiff there, of

BOOK II.

Anno 1551.

all the lands, tenements, and liberties of the same: and also of the office of steward and bailiff of Paris Garden, and the liberties thereof, with a fee of 30*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum. Dated in July.

To Peter Osborn.

The office of Clerk of the Faculties to Peter Osborn, for life, with fees accustomed. Dated in July.

These parcels were given in July by the King, from the bishopric of Winton:

497 To Sir John Gates.

To Sir John Gates, the manors of Sutton, Ropley, &c. in the counties of Southampton and Surrey, to the yearly value of 145*l.* 19*s.* 9½*d.*

To Sir Philip Hoby.

To Sir Philip Hoby, the manor of Marden, &c. in the county of Southampton, to the value of 87*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.* per annum.

To Sir Andrew Dudley.

To Sir Andrew Dudley, the manor of Witney, &c. to the value of 180*l.* 7¾*d.*

To Sir Henry Seimour.

To Sir Henry Seimour, lands to the yearly value of 186*l.* 4*d.*

To William Fitzwilliams.

To William Fitzwilliams, the manor of High Clere, &c. to the yearly value of 84*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.*

To Henry Neyvl.

To Henry Neyvl, the manor of Margrave, &c. to the yearly value of 114*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.*

To several Frenchmen.

Annuities, dated in September, to several Frenchmen, [ministers, probably, and others, fled from their own country for the persecution;] *viz.*

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Francis de Bignon	37	10	0	Nic. Du Menir	27	7	6
Abraham Parady	27	7	6	Galliot Tassat	27	7	6
John de Len	27	7	6	Collin le Cout	18	5	0

to be paid from the first of January last.

To Sir William Pickering.

The office of steward of the lordship of Sheriff Hutton, and constableship of the castle of Sheriff Hutton in Yorkshire, to Sir William Pickering, knight, for life, with all fees and profits thereunto accustomed, together with the herbage and pannage of the park thereof; paying so much yearly as Charles Brandon, [late brother to the Duke of Suffolk,] deceased, did. Dated in August.

The office of the King's apothecary to John Heningway, for life; and a fee of 40 marks per annum. Dated in September.

To John Heningway.

A gift to William Thomas [clerk of the Council] in fee-simple, of all the manor of Garway, with the appurtenances, in the county of Hereford; and divers other lands, to the yearly value of 35*l.* per annum, to be held *in capite* by the fortieth part of a knight's fee. Dated in September.

To William Thomas.

The creation of Sir William Herbert, knight, and his heirs male, to the barony of Cardiff in Glamorganshire; and to be lords of the Parliament, with the name, title, and state thereof. Dated in October.

To Sir William Herbert.

His creation to the earldom of Pembroke, with the name, title, and state thereof. Dated as above, with 40*l.* by year, to be paid of the customs of Bristol.

To the same.

The creation of John Earl of Warwick, and of his heirs male, to the dukedom of Northumberland, with 50 marks by year, to be paid of the customs of Newcastle. Dated as above.

To John Earl of Warwick.

The creation of Henry Marquis of Dorset, and his heirs male, to the dukedom of Suffolk, with 50 marks by year, to be paid of the customs of Hippeswich. Dated as above.

To Henry Marquis of Dorset.

The creation of William Earl of Wiltshire to the marquisy of Winton, and his heirs male, with 50 marks by year, out of the fee-farms of Winton. Dated as above.

To William Earl of Wilts.

To Sir John Mason, and the Lady Elizabeth his wife, and their heirs, of the manor of Apulford in Berks, with divers other lands, of the yearly value of 104*l.* 5*s.* 6½*d.* 498 Dated in October.

To Sir John Mason.

A gift to William Earl of Pembroke, and his heirs, of 162*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.* being several rents reserved of the house and scite of the late monastery of Wilton in Wilts, and divers other lands: as also of the manor of Bishopston, alias Ebblesborn, in the same county, of yearly value 43*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.* Dated as above.

To William Earl of Pembroke.

The office of general warden or keeper of the marches of England, towards the parties of Scotland; that is to say,

To the Duke of Northumberland.

BOOK II.

Anno 1551.

to the east march, the west march, and middle march, nigh the King's dominions of Scotland, to John Duke of Northumberland; with authority to do and exercise all things appertaining to the same office, in as large and ample manner, as by authority of Richard II. Henry IV. Henry V. Henry VI. Edward IV. Richard III. Henry VII. Henry VIII. it hath been used; and to see the same well fortified with weapons of war, for the safeguard of the King's liege people, and the sure defence of the town and castle of Berwick: and to appoint, ordain, and constitute under him a sub-warden; and to have the preeminences, liberties, and commodities belonging to the same office, to him and his deputies, in as large and ample manner as any heretofore had the same. Dated in October.

To Sir William Cecyl.

A gift to Sir William Cecyl, and Lady Mildred his wife, and to the heirs of the said William, of the manor of Berehamstow and Deping, with the appurtenances, in the county of Lincoln; and of the manor of Thetford-hall in the same county; and also of the reversion of the manor of Barowdown, alias Wrangdike, with the appurtenances, in the county of Rutland, granted to the Lady Elizabeth for life, by the King's letters patent, dated at Westminster, *an.* 4 *reg.* Also of the reversion of the manor of Liddington in the county of Rutland, granted to George [Gregory] Lord Crumwel, and Lady Elizabeth his wife, during their lives. Also the moiety of the rectory of Godstow, alias Walthamsted, with divers other lands, to the value of 152*l.* 3*s.* 3¾*d.* To be holden *in capite* by the half part of a knight's fee. Dated in October.

To Sir Robert Bows.

The office of master of the hospital of the Savoy, in the parish of St. Clement of Dacars, without the bars of the New Temple, in the county of Middlesex, to Sir Robert Bows, knight, for life, with all manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments to the same belonging. Dated in November.

To Sir John Mason and Fr. Spilman.

The office of clerk of the Parliament granted to Sir John Mason, knight, and Francis Spilman, for their lives, with

the fee of 40*l.* by year, to be paid by the keeper of the hamper of the Chancery, quarterly: and the old letters patents cancelled to this joint patency.

To Goodric and Lucas.

Annuities of 100*l.* to Richard Goodric and John Lucas. [These were the King's lawyers, employed by him in many commissions.] Dated in December.

To the Lord Conyers.

The office of deputy warden of the west marches towards Scotland, to the Lord Conyers, with the fee of 600 marks per annum, and for two deputies, 10*l.* per annum. Dated in December.

To Sir Nic. Strelly.

The office of deputy warden of the east marches towards Scotland, to Sir Nic. Strelly, with the fee of 700 marks per annum: with like allowance for deputies and sergeants. Dated as before.

499

To Lord Ogle.

The office of deputy warden of the middle marches, to the Lord Ogle, with the fee of 500 marks per annum; with like commission and authority as the others have. Dated as before.

To Sir John Mason.

A grant to Sir John Mason, knight, of the lease and farm of Yelingbery and Wormold in the county of Middlesex, in the parishes of Yelding and Fulham, demised by the Bishop of London to the Duke of Somerset, being presently in the King's disposition, as a chattel of the said Duke's. Dated as before.

To Sir Tho. Wroth.

A gift to Sir Thomas Wroth, as well in consideration of his service, as of surrendering into the King's hand an annuity of 100 marks, of the manor of Lydiard in the county of Somerset, and divers other lands, to the yearly value of 84*l.* 8*s.* 11¾*d.* to hold partly by fealty only in soccage, and partly *in capite*: paying yearly for the manor of Thoyden Boys 36*s.* for the scite and demean lands of Berden, [a late priory,] 47*s.* for the scite and demean of Abendon, 11*s.* and for the lands and tenements in Chulden, 10*d.* and for the manor of Lydiard, 10*l.* and for the manor of Thoyden Bois, [mistaken by the scribe for some other place,] 5*l.* 18*s.* 3½*d.* Dated as before.

To the Duke of Northumberland.

A gift, dated in the said month of December, to the Duke of Northumberland, being the scite of the late monastery of Tinmouth in the county of Northumberland, and a great

BOOK II.

number of lordships and manors more. And another gift to him of the towns of Alnwick, &c. in the same county.

Anno 1551. Dated as before.

To Rose Fisher.

A patent to Rose Fisher, being a widow, of a sistership within St. Bartholomew's hospital in Smithfield. Dated 27th September. [December it should be.]

To the Marquis of Northampton.

A gift of the King to the Marquis of Northampton, of all the possessions and goods belonging to the late fraternities of our Lady, of St. Peter and St. Paul, of the Trinity, and of St. George, within the town of Boston in Lincolnshire: with a licence to him to erect an hospital within the said town of Boston; and to give for the maintenance of the same, 50*l.* of yearly revenue for ever: which hospital shall be called, *The hospital of the foundation of William Marquis of Northampton.* Dated January 13.

1552.

To the Lord Burgaveny.

A pardon granted to Henry Nevyl, Lord Burgavenny, for striking a nobleman [*viz.* the Earl of Oxford] in the King's chamber of presence. Dated April 6.

To Hampton, Thomas, and Wade.

Clerks of the Council had these fees granted them in April; *viz.* to Bernard Hampton, esq. 50 marks; to William Thomas, esq. 40*l.* to Armagil Wade, esq. 50*l.* payable out of the Exchequer. Their patents for these fees bore date May 12 following.

To the Duke of Northumberland.

A patent granted to the Duke of Northumberland, of the offices of the chief stewardship, as well of the East Riding in the county of York, as also of all the King's lordships and manors of Holdernes and Cottingham, with the appurtenances, in the said East Riding; with the grant of several fees belonging to the said several high stewardships: and also the authority to name and appoint, by writing under his hand, all offices of under-stewards, bailiffs, escheators, feudaries, clerks of the crown courts, and other officers, whatsoever they be, within the East Riding, and Holdernes, and Nottingham, when they shall chance to be void.

500 And also, that no particular officer shall grant, by copy of court-roll, or let to farm, any lands within the East Riding aforesaid, without the consent of the Duke. And moreover, to have the keeping of the manor and park of Scroby in

Nottinghamshire, with the fee of 5*l.* 5*s.* 5½*d.* and to have the herbage and pannage of the said park for term of life, for the rent of 6*l.* to be paid at the Court of Augmentations. Dated April 23. CHAP. XXX. Anno 1552.

A patent granted to Sir William Sidney, of the honour of Penshurst in Kent, and of the manors of Ensfeld in Cepham and Hawden in the same county, lately parcel of the inheritance of Sir Rauf Fane, knight, attainted of felony; and also free warren in the park, with all the deer and conies in the said park, to him and his heirs: and also to have all the lands, goods, chattels, lead, utensils, vessels, mares, geldings, mules, and other things, in and upon the said chief mansion of Penshurst, or within the foresaid manor of Ensfeld and park, which were the said Fane's, October 2 last past, and came to the King's hands by his attaint: and to have the issues and profits of all the premises from the day of the attainder of the said Rauf. Dated April 25. To Sir William Sidney.

A patent granted to Sir Henry Gates, knight, and of the King's privy chamber, of the chief messuage in Kew in the parish of Mortlack in the county of Surrey, with the appurtenances, which came to the King's Majesty by the attainder of Sir Miles Partridge, to him and his heirs: as also of the manor of East Greenwich, by fealty in soccage, and not *in capite*. And to have the reversion of the advowson of Bernstow, after the Earl of Pembroke, if he shall fortune to decease without heirs male of his body begotten. And to have all the issue and profits of the premises from the time of the attainder of the said Partridge. Dated April 26. To Sir Henry Gates.

Another patent to him of all the goods and chattels of Sir Miles Partridge, being at his house at Kew at the time of his attainder. Dated April 20. To the same.

The King appointed for his mint Thomas Egerton, esquire, treasurer of the mint of the Tower; Thomas Stanley, comptroller; William Billingsley, assay-master; John Munds, provost. Dated in April. To Egerton, Stanley, Billingsley, and Munds.

A patent granted to the Earl of Warwick, [Ambrose, eldest son to the Duke of Northumberland,] to be master of the King's horses, upon surrender of the King's letters To the Earl of Warwick.

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

patents of the same office by the Earl of Pembroke, being of the date of December 2, 3° *reg.* for his life: and for the occupation of the said office to have 100 marks at the receipt of the Exchequer. Dated April 29.

To Sir John Mason.

A patent granted to Sir John Mason, knight, one of the Council, and Elizabeth his wife, of the fee-farm of all the manor of Wrotham in Kent, with the appurtenances, late parcel of the possessions of the Archbishop of Canterbury; which be extended to the yearly value of 40*l.* 10*s.* 6¾*d.* Dated May 3.

To Sir John Godsalve.

An annuity granted to Sir John Godsalve of 60*l.* by the year, upon the surrender of the office of comptrolment of the mint in the Tower of London, *durante vita.* Dated as before.

To Sir Edw. Bray.

A patent granted to Sir Edward Bray, of the constableship of the Tower, in reversion after the death of Sir John Gage, by the fee of 50*l.* per annum. Dated May 28.

501 To the Earl of Bedford.

A patent granted to John Earl of Bedford, and lord privy seal, of the gift of Covent-garden, lying in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields next Charing-cross, with seven acres called Long Acre, of the yearly value of 6*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* parcel of the possessions of the late Duke of Somerset. To have to him and his heirs, to be held in soccage, and not *in capite.* Dated in May.

To Christ's college, Cambridge.

A patent granted to Christ's college in Cambridge, of the manor of Burne in Cambridge, and the parsonage with the advowson of the same, in the said Burne, late belonging to the priory of Barnwel in the said county: upon the surrender of one annuity of 20*l.* granted to the said college by King Henry VIII. to be levied yearly of the manor of Weting in the county of Norfolk, *in puram et perpetuam eleemosynam.*

To Sir Roger Cholmely, Bradshaw, Griffith, and Gosnold.

A grant to Sir Roger Cholmely, of the office of chief justice. To Henry Bradshaw, of chief baron of the Exchequer. To Edmund Griffith, of the office of attorney-general of all the courts of record within England. And to John Gosnold, of solicitor-general. Dated in June.

To the L. Robert Dudley.

A grant of master of the buckhounds to the Lord Robert

Dudley, for life, with the yearly fee of 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* upon surrender of the same by the Earl of Warwick, [his brother.] Dated as before.

To the Duke of Northumberland.

Remission of a debt owing to the King by the Duke of Northumberland, in sundry particular sums, amounting to 2094*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.* Dated as above.

To divers aliens.

A grant to divers persons, aliens, being born out of the King's dominions, to detain every sum of money taxed on their heads for their relief, as of the King's gift. Dated as above.

To Sir John York, Nic. Throgmorton, Sir John Godsalve, &c. officers of the mints.

A pardon granted to Sir John York, knight, under-treasurer of the coin, money, and mints within the Tower of London and Southwark; to Nic. Throgmorton, esquire, one of the under-treasurers of the said mints; to Sir John Godsalve, knight, comptroller of the mint within the Tower; to Tho. Fletewood, gent. comptroller of the mint within the Tower and Southwark; to William Knight of London, mercer, assay-master of the said mints; to William Dunch, auditor of the said mints; to William Billingsley, assay-master of the said mints; to William Stanley, goldsmith, assay-master of the said mints: for all and all manner of transgressions, contempts, abusions, and offences, touching or concerning the said mints of the Tower and Southwark. Dated July 21.

To Sir John Cheke.

A patent of licence granted to Sir John Cheke, knight, one of the gentlemen of the King's privy chamber, to license at all times one of his household servants, to shoot in the crossbow, handgun, hackbut, or demyhake, at certain fowls or deer, expressed in his patent, notwithstanding the statute made to the contrary, anno 33 Henry VIII. Dated at the King's honour of Petworth, July 23.

To Sir Thomas Darcy.

A patent of exchange of lands, granted to Sir Thomas Darcy, lord chamberlain of England, for the manors of Lucton, alias dict. Loughton, Chingford Pauli, and Chingford Comitis, in the county of Essex, with the appurtenances; to have the manor and park of Beddington in the county of Surrey, and the manor of Ravesbury in the same

BOOK II.

county, and divers other manors and lands there; which be extended to the clear yearly value of 86*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Anno 1552.

502

To the Lady Anne Cleves.

A gift to the Lady Anne Cleves, for life, in consideration of the surrender of the monastery of Bisham, of all the manors and lordships of Brokeford and Thwait in the county of Suffolk, with divers other lands, to the value of 67*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* and to pay therefore yearly 7*l.* 13*s.* 6½*d.* Dated in August.

To Sir Thomas Wroth.

A grant to Sir Thomas Wroth, of the remain of certain bedding and other stuff of the late Duke of Somerset's, being in the hands of the same Sir Thomas: which is valued by the clerk of the wardrobe of beds, the keeper of the wardrobe at Richmond, and an upholsterer at London, at 61*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* Dated in September.

To Sir Edward Seimour.

A patent to Sir Edward Seimour, knight, son of Edward late Duke of Somerset, of all the lordships and manors of Walton, Shedder, and Stowey, and the park of Stowey, and the hundred of Winterstock, with the appurtenances, in the county of Somerset, lately the possession of his father: which are extended to the clear yearly value of 113*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.* to him and his heirs for ever: to be held of the King *in capite:* rent reserved 13*l.* 19*s.* 8¾*d.* Dated at Ely, September 6. [From his father's death to this time he had no provision made for him.]

To John Seimour.

A pardon granted to John Seimour, [perhaps the Duke's brother,] of all treasons, &c. with all his goods and lands [restored.]

To the Marquis of Northampton.

A patent granted of exchange by the King's Majesty, to the Lord Marquis of Northampton, to have the lordship and manor of Southwark, sometimes the Bishop of Winchester's, for the chief or capital mese of Lambeth, sometimes the Duke of Norfolk's, attainted of treason.

To Sir John Cheke.

A patent granted to Sir John Cheke, knight, one of the privy chamber, to be one of the chamberlains of the Exchequer, or of the receipt of the Exchequer: which was once Sir Anthony Wyngfeld's office, now dead: and also to appoint the keeper of the door of the said receipt, when the

room shall fall; and the appointing of all other officers belonging to the same, for term of life. Dated at Sarum, about September. CHAP. XXX. Anno 1552.

A patent granted to John Peter, of Exeter, gent. for the sum of 120*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to enjoy the mansion-house of the late college or chantry of Slapton in the county of Devon, parcel of the possessions and inheritance of Sir Thomas Arundel, knt. [executed for felony,] and also the manor of Norton in the said county, and parcel of the foresaid college, and of the possessions of the said Arundel. All which premises are extended to the yearly value of 6*l.* 8*d.* to him and his heirs, from the feast of the Annunciation last past. Signed September 18. To John Peter.

A patent of an annuity of 10*l.* granted to Dr. Nicols; and licence to take the bodies of prisoners, both men and women, after their execution. [For dissecting. He was, I suppose, the King's chirurgeon or physician.] To Dr. Nicols.

An annuity of 110*l.* to James Moris and William Moris, for their lives: to be paid at the Augmentation, from Michaelmas, *ann.* 38 *reg.* Hen. VIII. Dated in December. To James and William Moris.

A patent granted to Sir Henry Nevyl, knt. of the prebend of South Cave in the county of York, with the parsonage and advowson of the said South Cave, Waddisworth, and Ottley; which extend to 81*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* Dated in January. 503 To Sir Hen. Nevyl.

A patent granted to Henry Duke of Suffolk, of the chief messuage and mansion, called the Minory House, within the precincts of the monastery called the Minories, without Aldgate, London, and divers houses in London belonging to the same: which extend to the clear yearly value of 36*l.* 11*s.* 5½*d.* [So it is set down in Chancellor Goodrick's book, but in the Warrant-Book it is 37*l.* 11*s.* 5½*d.*] To hold in free soccage, and the capital house *in capite:* from the feast of St. Michael. At Westminster. Dated Jan. 13. To the Duke of Suffolk.

A patent granted to the Earl of Darby, to have in exchange of Darby-place, at Paul's-wharf, in the parish of St. Benet's, in the city of London, now in the tenure of Sir Richard Sackvyle, knt. and divers other messuages and he- To the Earl of Darby.

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

reditaments sold by the said Earl to the King's Majesty, by his indenture bearing date November 24, *anno reg.* 6 certain lands, called Leonard's Lands, joining to the Earl's parks, called Knowsley-park, in the county of Lancaster, and lately belonging to the monastery of Bristow, of the yearly value of 20*s.* with other lands, &c. to the value of 4*l.* 10*s.* and a mese and a grange, called Badley Grange, of the value of 42*s.* in Cheshire: all which amount to the value of 7*l.* 12*s.* Dated Jan. 24.

For the Duke of Suffolk.

An allocate for the Duke of Suffolk for 40*l.* a year, given him by the King with the erection of the dukedom of Suffolk, directed to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, for allowance of the same 40*l.* per annum.

To Barnaby Fitz-Patric.

An annuity of 150*l.* to Barnaby Fitz-Patric, one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber, during pleasure. A licence granted to him for this, dated February 6.

To Sir Nic. Throgmorton.

An annuity of 100*l.* to Sir Nic. Throgmorton, in consideration as well of the surrender of his office of one of the treasurers of the coin of the mint in the Tower, as for his faithful service, during life: granted Jan. 28. The patent bore date in February.

To Sir Andrew Dudley.

A gift to Sir Andrew Dudley, of the manor of Mynster Lovel, and the hundred of Chadlington, in the counties of Oxon and Glocester, to the yearly value of 54*l.* 16*s.* 1¼*d.* Dated in the month above.

To the Lord Rob. Dudley.

A patent granted to the Lord Robert Dudley, of the office *capitalis tranchiatoris*, *i. e.* of chief carver, upon the surrender of the said letters patents of the Duke of Northumberland his father, granted to him by King Henry VIII. *anno regni sui* 34. for term of life; which the King's Majesty hath had long in his Grace's hand: to have to the said Lord Robert for term of life, with the fee of 50*l.* to be received by the hands of the treasurer and chamberlain of the Exchequer. And because the said Lord hath exercised the said office from the feast of St. Michael hitherto, without fee, the King hath granted to the same as many pence as that allowance came to, of his free gift. Dated Feb. 27.

Anno 1550.

504 To the Duke of Northumberland.

A grant to the Duke of Northumberland, of the manor and borough of Stratford, and Old Stratford, in Warwickshire, with other lands, to the yearly value of 1000 marks. And another gift of the lordship, manor, and castle of Kenelworth in the same county, and other lands, to the yearly value of 40*l.* 18*s.* 1½*d.* And likewise the manor and town of Wellington in Somersetshire, with divers other lands, of the yearly value of 104*l.* 15*s.* 5½*d.* But for these he surrendered to the King the castle and manor of Tunbridge, and two parks, called the Postern, and the Cage; and certain lands and chases of North Frith, &c. in Kent, Otford in the same county, and Chelworth in Wilts. Dated in February.

To George Barns, Will. Garret, John York, and Tho. Windham.

The King, in the month beforesaid, lent a ship called the Primrose, and a pinnace called the Moon, with all the tackle and apparel to them belonging, to George Barns, mayor of London, William Garret, one of the sheriffs, John York, and Thomas Windham; they engaging themselves, and being bound to deliver to his Majesty's use by Midsummer 1554, another ship and pinnace of like goodness and burden. [These ships were set forth for the great adventure into the east by the north seas, by the encouragement of Sebastian Gabeto, a great seaman. They set forth a month or two after, being commanded by Sir Hugh Willoughby, who perished in the adventure in the northern parts. But it had this advantage, that hereby the trade into Russia was discovered.]

To William Seres.

A privilege granted to William Seres, stationer and bookseller, to print all books of private prayers, called Primers, as shall be agreeable to the Book of Common Prayer established in the Court of Parliament: and that none else do print the same, upon pain of forfeiture of the same. Provided, that before the said Seres and his assigns do begin to print the same, he shall present a copy thereof to be allowed by the Lords of the Privy Council, or by the King's Chancellor for the time being, or by the King's four ordinary chaplains, or two of them. And when the same is or shall be from time to time printed, that by the said Lords and others of the said Privy Council, or by the Lord Chancellor, or with

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

the advice of the wardens of the occupation, the reasonable price thereof to be set, as well in the leaves, as being bound in paste or board, in like manner as is expressed in the end of our Book of Common Prayer. March 4, an. 7.

To Griffith Leyson.

A patent to Griffith Leyson, LL. D. of a manor called Tresberket, in New Carmarthen, lately belonging to the priory of Carmarthen, with the appurtenances, and other lands, &c. Dated March 9. Paying yearly 39*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.*

To Sir Phil. Hoby.

A patent granted to Sir Philip Hoby, of the monastery of Bisham in Berks, with all the grange within the said monastery, and the advowson and right of patronage to the vicarage, &c. extending to the value of 61*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.* And that he may convert the foresaid rectory, with its appurtenances, glebe, and profits, to his own use. Dated March 6.

To Will. Crowch.

A purchase to William Crowch, esq. and Susan his wife, for the sum of 568*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* of all the lordship and manor of Hampton, and all the hundred of Hampton in the county of Somerset, with all the rights and appurtenances
505 whatsoever, late parcel of the lands, revenues, and possessions of the Bishop and bishopric of Bath and Wells: and also all the lands, meadows, pastures, &c. called by the name of Cleves; and all the land, &c. called Archers Meads, &c. lately belonging to the monastery of Henton. Dated March 15.

To Sir Rog. Cholmely.

A purchase to Sir Roger Cholmely, lord chief justice of England, and Lady Christine his wife, for the sum of 246*l.* of the lordships and manors of East [Ham], West Ham, and Placy, in the county of Essex; late parcel of the possessions belonging to the late monastery of Stratford Langton: which are extended to the sum of 12*l.* 6*s.* March 24.

To L. Paget.

A grant to William Lord Paget, of Beaudesert, and to his posterity for ever, to give in his arms, sables, a cross engrailed between four eaglets, argent; upon the cross five lioncels passant sable, armed and languid, gules. And to his crest, upon the helm, a demy tiger, sable, rampant, fashed, toothed, with a crown about the neck, argent, upon a wreath, argent and sables, mantled of the same. Which arms was given him before by a king of arms that could

not give it; and now confirmed by the King's Majesty. Dated March 21. CHAP. XXX.

A wardship or custody granted to the Earl of Warwick, of Edward Seimour, knt. with an annuity of 510*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* growing and coming out of certain manors in Dorsetshire, Somerset, and Wilts, for the education of the said Edward: which lands were appointed and assigned out by the master and council of the wards, by virtue of the King's warrant. Dated March 30. Anno 1553.

A purchase granted to the Lady Johan Denny, widow [of Sir Anthony Denny, of King Henry's privy chamber], for the sum of 3202*l.* 7*s.* 0¾*d.* [so in Chancellor Goodrick's leger, but in the Warrant-Book 4102*l.* 7*s.*] of the lordships and manors of Waltham and Nasing, with the appurtenances, with a fullingmill and two watermills, late parcel of the dissolved abbey of Waltham-cross in Essex, with the parsonage and church of Mettingham, and advowson of the same; and the parsonage and church of Sibton, and advowson of the same; late parcel of the possessions of the Duke of Norfolk, &c. extending unto the yearly value of 103*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* To have to her and her heirs the manors *in capite*, the rectories in soccage. Dated April 16. *an. reg.* 7. 1553. To the Lady Denny.

A pardon granted to the Earl of Westmerland, of all treasons, as well greater as less, and concealments of treasons, misprisions, insurrections, rebellions, confederacies, conspiracies, imaginations, and abettings, procurations, comfortations, unlawful uttering of words, before the 20th day of March: and all other murders, homicides, accessaries, and flights for the same. And all heresies, and heretical opinions, and undue uttering of words against the King and his counsellors. Dated April 17. To the Earl of Westmerland.

A gift to Sir Thomas Wroth in fee-simple, of all the scite of the monastery of Abendon, and St. John's chapel, lying in St. Michael's church in Abendon, in Berks, with divers other lands, &c. to the yearly value of 5*l.* 14*s.* Dated in March. To Sir Tho. Wroth.

An exchange made between the King's Majesty and the Lord Darcy, lord chamberlain. The King granting to the To the Lord Darcy.

BOOK II.

Anno 1553. 506

same Lord the manor of Clarkton, with the appurtenances, in the county of Essex, sometime parcel of the bishopric of London; with the lands called Westwick, and the parks of Alton and Clarkton, with the manor of Weylech, with the free warren of deer in Weyleche-park: and all the manor of Canonshall, with the parishes of Much Clackton, Little Clackton, and Little Holland: and all those the manors, lordships, and tenements of Wiglarrow in Chiche, with the advowson of Kenne in the county of Devon, and Churchten in the county of Stafford. And the King's Majesty hath of the said Lord Darcy all his manors, or late prebends of Wollesgrove, and Towford, Henstue, Polecros, with divers other lands in the county of Devon, with the manor of Crediton, with all the lordship or manor, hundred and borough, late part of the bishopric of Exeter; and the manor of Weachton, Underwold, in the county of York, with the advowson and parsonage of Morchard Bishop, called Bishop's Morchard, in the county of Devon, &c.

To William Worthington.

A pardon granted to William Worthington, being indebted to the King for and concerning the office of bailiff and collector of the rents and revenues of all the manors, messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments within the city of London and the county of Middlesex, which did belong to colleges, guilds, fraternities, or free chapels, in the sum of 392*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* as upon the foot of his account, made by the said William before Thomas Mildmay, auditor of the said revenues, manifestly in it doth appear: in consideration of his service both in France and Scotland, and also his daily service and attendance, being one of the ordinary gentlemen and pensioners; and for that debt grew by the unfaithfulness of his servant, who ran away with the same. Granted in March, but the patent signed in April.

To Sir Henry Sydney.

The office of keeping the chief mansion at Otford to Sir Henry Sydney for life, with the fee of two pence a day: the office of steward of the honour of Otford, with the fee of 6*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.* per ann. and the keeping of the woods there, with the fee of two pence a day: the office of bailiff of the manor: the office of bailiff of the manors of Gravesend and

Milton: the keeping of the great park there: the office of under-steward there: the office of steward of the manor of Swanscomb: the keeping of the manor of Knol, with the garden and orchard: the keeping of the park at Knol: the keeping of the woods there: the office of under-steward of the manor of Knol, with the respective fees: and a lease to him of the little park of Otford. Dated in April. CHAP. XXX. Anno 1553.

A grant to Sir Henry Seimour, for life, of the manors of Somerford and Hurn, with the appurtenances, in the county of Southampton, and divers other lands, to the yearly value of 202*l.* 6*s.* 9¾*d.* without account rendering, or paying any thing therefore. Dated as before. To Sir Hen. Seimour.

The office of chancellor of the order of the Garter to Sir William Cecyl, knt. with the fee of 100 marks per ann. during his life, to be paid at the Exchequer half yearly. Dated as above. To Sir Will. Cecyl.

A grant for the establishing of the corporation of St. Alban's in the county of Hereford, [Hertford,] with certain liberties therein mentioned; and for the erection of a free grammar-school there; with a grant of the late abbey church to be their parish church. Dated as above. To St. Alban's.

507

A purchase to the Lady Denny in April, for 1102*l.* 7*s.* 0¾*d.* of certain manors, lands, &c. in the counties of Essex and Suffolk, of the yearly value of 153*l.* 4*s.* 7¼*d.* To the Lady Denny.

A patent dated in April, for augmentation of a bordure of lions' legs to the Lord Wharton's ancient arms. To the Lord Wharton.

A purchase to Sir William Petre, knt. of the manor of Shapwich, Murlinch, and Ashcote, and the hundred of Whittelegh, in the county of Somerset, and divers other lands in Devon; for the sum of 554*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* of the yearly value of 77*l.* 6*s.* 3¼. to him and his heirs for ever. Bearing date April 3. To Sir Will. Petre.

A passport to the Archbishop of Athens, to pass through the realm into Scotland, with twelve persons in his company. Dated in April. To the Archbishop of Athens.

The erection of the county palatine of Durham, to continue from henceforth in such manner and degree as is mentioned in the letters patents: wherein shall be appointed Durham made a county palatine.

BOOK II.

such numbers of judges, officers, and ministers, as be requisite to supply the same; and a great seal and privy seal.

Anno 1553.

And the same county palatine shall be united to the imperial crown of England. Dated as before.

To the Duke of Northumberland.

A gift to the Duke of Northumberland, and to his heirs male, of the castle called Bernard's Castle, within the bishopric of Durham, [or] in the county of Northumberland, with divers lands, to the yearly value of 229*l.* 6*s.* 3½*d.* Dated as before.

To the same.

The office of steward of all the honours, castles, manors, lordships, lands, &c. in the counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmerland, and York, or any otherwhere within the bishopric of Durham, to the said Duke of Northumberland for life, with the several fees of 50*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to the same offices belonging. Dated in the said month of April.

To Sir John Mason.

A grant to Sir John Mason, knt. and to the inhabitants of the town of Abendon in Berks, that there shall be an hospital in Abendon, called Christ's Hospital, to continue for ever, with twelve governors: with a gift to the same governors, and to their successors, of the messuage and tenement called the Antelope, in Abendon, with divers other lands, &c. to the yearly value of 65*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.* Dated in May.

To Sir John Gates.

A gift to Sir John Gates, of the manor of Hursbourn, in the county of Southampton, with divers other lands, to the yearly value of 203*l.* 10*s.* 0½*d.* with a further grant that there shall be for ever one market and two fairs at Ringwood. Dated in May.

To Sir John Cheke.

A gift the same month to Sir John Cheke, and his heirs male, of Clare in Suffolk, with divers other lands, to the yearly value of 100*l.*

To Newcastle.

A grant to the mayor and burgesses of Newcastle upon Tine, of the fee-farm of the lordship, manor, town, and borough of Gateshed, lately parcel of the possessions of the bishopric of Durham, with divers other lands, to the yearly value of 27*l.* 8½*d.* to be holden in free burgage. Dated in May.

508 Many lands and manors passed away by purchase from the King, this month of May.

A grant in June to the Lady Mary's Grace, during her life, of the castle and manor of Hertford, the manor of Hartingford-bury, the parks of Hertford and Hartingford-bury, with the appurtenances, in the county of Hertford; the manor and park of Wikes in Essex: to the yearly value of 91*l.* 2*s.* 3½*d.* To the Lady Mary.

The office of master and overseer of the King's bears, bulls, and dogs, to Cuthbert Vaughan for life, with all profits to the same belonging: and to take up mastiff dogs, bears, and bulls, at reasonable prices. Dated in June. To Cuthbert Vaughan.

A gift to the Lord Robert Dudley, of the manor of Corsy and Saxlingham in Norfolk, of the yearly value of 149*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* Dated as above. To L. Robt. Dudley.

A gift to the Duke of Northumberland, of the manors of Feckenham, Bromesgrove, and King's Norton, in Worcestershire, of the yearly value of 300*l.* Dated as above. To the Duke of Northumberland.

A purchase for 687*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* to Sir William Cecyl, of all the lands, meadows, pastures, feedings, now or of late in the tenure of William Broke, dying at Collyweston in Northampton, with other lands, to the yearly value of 30*l.* 16*s.* 5½*d.* Dated as above. To Sir Will. Cecyl.

The office of keeping the house and park at Eltham, to Sir John Gates, and the park of Horn, and the office of steward of the manor of Eltham. Dated as above. To Sir John Gates.

The Lord Clinton appointed the chief order, rule, and safe custody of the Tower of London, with such numbers as are appointed by his Highness. Dated as above. To the Lord Clinton.

A pardon and discharge to the Earl of Arundel for 10,000 marks, acknowledged by him to owe unto the King's Majesty by recognizance, upon certain considerations in the same expressed. Dated as above. To the Earl of Arundel.

A purchase to Sir William Petre, knt. of certain tenths, amounting to the yearly value of 15*l.* 7*s.* 2½*d.* reserved to the King's Majesty out of the manors of Engerston, Hendley, Cawondel, alias Thorowden, in Essex; the manors of Teddenham and Sutton in the county of Glocester; the manor of Churchsto in the county of Devon; paying for the same 707*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* to him and his heirs. June 22. To Sir Will. Petre.

BOOK II.

Anno 1553.

To Peter Osborn.

A pardon granted to Peter Osborn, [officer in the Exchequer,] for all manner of accounts and reckonings, as well of such sums of money as he hath received of the arrearages of the King's Majesty's debts, as other sums of money received for his Highness's special affairs, and by Mr. Vice-chamberlain's appointment, to the sum of 89,949*l.* which he hath issued out by sufficient warrants, as in the declaration of his accounts appeared. Together with his discharge for 106*l.* taken away in the chamber, where the King doth commonly hear the sermons. Dated June 25.

To the Earl of Bedford.

A gift to John Earl of Bedford, and Edmund Downing, gent. of the manor of Boiton or Barton de Bridge, with the appurtenances, in the county of Cornwal, and other manors in Wilts, and other parcels of the bishopric of Worcester,
509 and divers other manors in other counties; extending to the full value yearly of 78*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.* to them and their heirs: paying yearly out of the manor of Boyton 4*l.* 17*s.* and from Lurgishal 7*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* Dated June 19.

To the Earl of Shrewsbery.

A gift to the Earl of Shrewsbury, of the capital messuage of Coldharborow, in Thames-street, London, belonging lately to the bishopric of Durham, with the appurtenances to the same messuage belonging: and all those six messuages and tenements late in the tenure of Henry Polston, and others, in the parish of St. Dunstan in the East in London, with divers other lands belonging to Sir John Robert, of Knaresborow, and the priory of Pomfret, in the county of York; to him and his heirs: to the yearly value of 66*l.* 16*s.* 1½*d.* Dated June 30.

To Anth. Brown, esq.

A purchase made by Anthony Brown, [of South Weald in Essex,] esq. in reversion of the Lady Anne of Cleves, the manor of Costed-hall, with the appurtenances, in the county of Essex, with all the fairs and markets in Brentwood; which were part of the possessions of Thomas Cruuwel, knt. late Earl of Essex; and are extended to the yearly value of 17*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* to have to the said Anthony, and his wife Johan, and their heirs for ever. Dated June 28.

To Spainy and Baspole.

A purchase to Edward Spainy and John Baspole, gentlemen, for the sum of 436*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.* of Leman's manor in the

county of Norfolk, and the parsonage of Tamstale, of the late possessions of the house of Sybton, in the county of Norfolk; with certain other lands and tenements, extended to the clear yearly value of 20*l.* 18*s.* 3½*d.* to hold the said manor of Leman's *in capite*, of the fiftieth part of one knight's fee, and the rectory in soccage. Signed at Westminster, July 1. CHAP. XXX. Anno 1553.

The same 1st of July was granted them a fee-farm, in reversion of the Duchess of Richmond, and Countess of Nottingham, of the site of the late monastery of Westacre, and the lordship and manor of Westacre, and Ousthorp; and the parsonage of Westacre, and all the appurtenances, in the county of Norfolk; with two warrens of conies, which they call Wycan Warren, and the other Ousthorp, with a mill, and a meadow, called Will's Meadow, and the parsonage and church of Ousthorp and Westacre; and all the lordship and manor of Great and Little Walsingham, with all the lordships and manors of Betts and Hadshaws, in the county of Norfolk. Which are extended to the yearly value of 201*l.* 14*s.* 9½*d.* to have to them and their heirs for ever. Paying thence yearly 52*l.* 6*s.* To the same.

A pardon granted to John Towly of London, pultor: with pardon of his lands and goods. Dated July 5. [This was but the day before the King's death, and, I suppose, the very last that ever he signed.] To John Towly.

CHAP. XXXI. 510

A collection of various letters, warrants, and licences from the King, both to foreigners and his subjects.

TO give a further insight into the transactions of this reign, I shall now set down other matters that passed from the King and Council, *viz.*

IV. *Letters, warrants, licences, and passports.*

A passport to Dr. James Omphalius, stranger, to go into Flanders, with three servants, three horses, three hundred 1550. To Dr. Omphalius.

BOOK II.

crowns, with all other necessaries. Dated in November 1550.

Anno 1550.

To the Bp. of Colen.

A letter to the Bishop of Colen, advertising him, that the King hath received his letters sent unto his Highness by James Omphalius. Dated as before.

To the Duke of Brunswick.

A letter of answer to Otto, Duke of Brunswick, that where he required of the King money and aid by his letters, that his Highness would have been willing to have granted unto his request, if for the necessity of his reign and affairs to do the contrary he were not forced. Dated in November.

To the mayor, aldermen, &c. of London.

A letter to the mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in favour of Henry Fisher, that he may succeed Thomas Hays in the room and office of chamberlain of the said city, void by the death of the said Thomas. Dated as before.

To the Lady Elizabeth.

A warrant to grant to my Lady Elizabeth's Grace, the wardship and marriage of William Reyner, during his minority, with the keeping of the manor of Overton Longfield, and the advowson of the church of Overton Longfield, in Huntingdonshire, without fine or accounts making. Dated in December.

To the Duchess of Suffolk.

A warrant to grant to Katharin Duchess of Suffolk, the wardship of Henry Duke of Suffolk, [her son,] and Agnes Woodhil[a]: allowing her for the keeping of them 220*l.* a year. A warrant afterwards, allowing 100*l.* more for keeping the Duke, and 20*l.* more for the said Agnes, during their minority: and the grant of the wardship and marriage of them to begin from Michaelmas, *an.* 1. *reg.* Dated in December.

To Jugg the printer.

A licence to Jugg, citizen and stationer of London, and to his sufficient deputies, to print the New Testament in
511 English, as well in great volumes as in small, for the space of ——— years, next ensuing the date hereof. Dated in January.

To Margaret Birkenhead.

A letter to Margaret Birkenhead, widow, in favour of

[a] She seems to have been of the noble family of the Woodviles, that were Earls Rivers; Elizabeth of that name, Edward IV. made his Queen: and her sister was married to Henry Duke of Bucks.

Peter Aston, that she will, at the contemplation of the King's letters, take in marriage the said Peter. Dated as before. CHAP. XXXI. Anno 1550.

A warrant to Sir William Petre, to pay to Sir John Markham [lieutenant of the Tower] for the necessary apparel of William Courtney, [a prisoner in the Tower from his childhood, son and heir of the Marquis of Exeter, beheaded,] the sum of 59*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and for his spending money 50*l.* payable at the feasts of the Annunciation of our Lady, the Nativity of St. John Baptist, St. Michael, and Christmas. Dated in February. To Sir Will. Petre.

A like warrant to Sir William Petre, to pay Sir John Markham, for the necessary apparel of the late Duke of Norfolk [a prisoner] the sum of 73*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* and for his spending money 80*l.* at the feasts mentioned in the other warrant. Dated in February. To the same.

A letter to the Earl of Bedford, warden of the stannery of Devon, to summon before him, or his deputy, at a place called Crockrentor within the said stannery, four and twenty of the discreetest tinners of every stannery; and to reform all such laws and customs as be amiss therein: and to set such good laws and orders as be requisite for the preservation of the said stannery. Dated in February. To the Earl of Bedford.

A letter undirected, in the presence of Mr. Vice-Chamberlain and Sir Anthony Aucher, to take all manner of garnishments, and apparel of silver and gold, and to deliver it to the said Sir Anthony; and to deface and carry away out of the library at Westminster all books of superstition. Dated as above. To deface superstitious books in Westminster.

A letter undirected, in favour of Edward Randolph, willing and commanding him, in consideration of the faithful service done by the said Edward to the King's Majesty, to make him a lease in reversion of the demeans of the whole possession of the abbey of Connel, in the county of Kildare, in the realm of Ireland, for twenty-one years, now in the occupation of Gerard Sutton. Dated in March. In favour of Edward Randolph.

A licence to Rafe Hopton and his wife, with two or To Rafe Hopton.

BOOK II.

three guests to eat flesh in Lent, and other fasting days, during his life. Dated in March.

Anno 1550. To Sir Edw. Warner.

A licence to Sir Edward Warner, and Elizabeth his wife, with two or three guests, to eat flesh and white meats in Lent, and on other fasting days, during his life. Dated as before.

1551. In behalf of the Bishop of Norwich, &c.

A warrant undirected, to pay the Bishop of Norwich for his diet, from the 10th of April last, until his return [out of the north], 40*s.* by the day: and to Sir Robert Bowes 26*s.* 8*d.* Dated in March.

To Sir Andrew Jud.

A recognizance to Sir Andrew Jud, mayor of the city of London, and the commonalty of the same, that the King shall discharge them, their successors, lands, possessions, and goods whatsoever, as well beyond the seas, as on this side the same, for the payment of certain sums of money Flemish, which they stand bound for to Anthony Fugger and his nephews, to be paid at Antwerp. Dated in April.

512 To the Earl of Wilts.

A letter to the Earl of Wiltshire, declaring, that the King's pleasure is, that he call to him Sir Walter Mildmay, knt. and of such treasure as remaineth in his hand in the Tower of London, to deliver to the Lord Clinton one collar of gold of the order of the Garter, with a George thereunto appendant: taking of him so much gold of the same fineness, as the same collar shall amount unto, or the value thereof: and that he deliver also to the Lord Marquis of Northampton, one garter, with a George of the best sort. The same collar and garter to be employed upon the French King. Dated in April.

To the French King.

A letter to the French King, declaring that the King's Majesty, with others of the honourable Garter, hath elected and taken him into the same order, the 24th of April, [being the day following the feast of St. George,] according to the old and ancient custom. Dated in May.

To Sir Ralph Sadler.

A warrant to Sir Ralph Sadler, to deliver to Edward Lord Clinton, lord admiral, who is now elect and chosen to be of the right honourable order of the Garter, for his livery of the same order, eighteen yards of crimson velvet, for one

gown, hood, and tippet, and ten yards of white sarcenet for the lining of the same. Dated in May.

Anno 1551.

For William Thomas, esq.

A warrant to Sir William Cavendish, to allow William Thomas, clerk of the Council, going over into France in quality of ambassador, for his diet 40*s.* a day; and to the Marquis of Northampton 10*l.* a day; and to Sir Philip Hoby 5 marks a day. Dated in May.

For Sir Gilb. Dethic, knt.

A warrant to Sir William Cavendish, for Sir Gilbert Dethic, knt. alias Garter, principal king of arms, attending the Lord Marquis of Northampton in his ambassade to the French King, to have for his diet 20*s.* by the day, from the 28th of April last, unto his return to the King's presence; and for his reward 20*s.* by the day: and to allow for his posting and transporting, both outward and homeward, of him and his train, and also for certain robes of the order, and other things necessary, such sums of money as by his bill subscribed he shall signify. And further, to allow him for the diet of Chester herald 5*s.* by the day, and 5*s.* in reward by the day: and for the diet of Rouge Dragon pursuivant 2*s.* 6*d.* by the day, and 2*s.* 6*d.* reward also by the day: and also for their posting money according to the tenor aforesaid. Dated as afore.

For the same.

A warrant to Sir Ralph Sadler, to deliver to Sir Gilbert Dethic three yards of cloth of gold, two yards of cloth of gold tissue, and sixteen yards of blue velvet: which shall be for the banner, for the mantles of the helmet, and the lining of the same, for the installation of the French King. Dated as afore.

For Sir Tho. Smith.

A warrant to Sir William Cavendish, to pay to Sir Thomas Smith, sent into France, for his diet, from the 29th of April last, unto his return to the King's presence, 3*l.* by the day: defalking out of the same 100*l.* which he hath already received in prest. Dated as afore.

To the Bishop of Ely.

A passport to the Bishop of Ely to go into France in his ambassade thither. Dated in May.

For lending 2000 French crowns.

A warrant undirected, to deliver to him 2000 French crowns, taking of him sufficient bond for the repayment of the same in like crowns, or other gold of the same fineness,

513

BOOK II.

Anno 1551.

and of that value: and also to sundry other noblemen and gentlemen, as shall attend upon the Lord Marquis of Northampton in his ambassade, 4000 French crowns apiece, taking likewise of every of them bonds of repayment. Dated in May.

For Dr. Olyver.

A warrant for allowance of John Olyver, doctor of the civil law, one of the two lawyers [Sir Thomas Smith the other] appointed to go with the Marquis of Northampton into France, four marks by the day for his diet. Dated as above.

To cease prosecution of Andrew Cutler, &c.

A warrant to the Exchequer, where John Forster, of London, gave information to the officers, that Andrew Cutler, Richard Westerfield, Roger Ireland, John Bound, and William Wright, of London, by the space of two hundred days, in the parish of St. Benet, in London, did maintain a certain house of playing at dice and cards, contrary to the law provided therefore, forthwith they have forfeited every one 40*s.* to surcease for ever of all processes, executions, quarrels, and demands: so that they be discharged of the premises. Dated in May.

To pay the Lady Anne of Cleve's officers.

A warrant undirected, to pay to certain of the Lady Anne of Cleve's officers, *viz.* to the chamberlain 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to her receiver 20*l.* to her cofferer 20*l.* to her comptroller 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to Dr. Cornelius 46*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to Chard 20*l.* to Hoven 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to Bronkehosen 10*l.* to Lodwic 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to John Scholebormve, and to some others, footmen and others, &c. And to pay the same, whether the officers be placed or displaced. Dated in June.

For Sir John Gates, Sir Philip Hoby, Sir Henry Seimour, &c.

A letter undirected, where the King hath given to Sir John Gates, Sir Philip Hoby, Sir Henry Seimour, Sir Andrew Dudley, knts. and Henry Nevyl, and William Fitzwilliams, esqs. certain manors, lands, tenements, &c. to them and their heirs, parcel of the castles, lands, and tenements, lately had of the Bishop of Winchester, that pertained to the bishopric, with the rents and profits, &c. And where the King hath granted to Sir Thomas Wroth an annuity of 100*l.* going out of the manor of Taunton, and out of other lands, &c. belonging to the same bishopric; his Majesty's

pleasure is, that he account and pay to them all the said rents, issues, and profits, coming and growing of the said manors from Michaelmas last forwards: and the annuity to Sir Thomas Wroth from the death of Sir Francis Brian. Dated in June.

For the castle of Dover.

A letter undirected, for the castle of Dover to be surveyed, and thereupon to be repaired sufficiently without delay. Dated as before.

To the warden of the stannery.

A letter to the warden of the stannery of Cornwall, to summon within the town of Lostwithiel four and twenty of the most substantial and discreet tinners of every stannery; and there to make, amend, and reform all such laws, customs, enormities, and other things as are amiss, and needful to be redressed within the said stannery, for the quietness and good government of the tinners there, the preservation of the said stannery, and for the commonwealth of the realm: and to put the said order and laws strictly in execution. Dated in June.

To George Chidley.

A licence to George Chidley, to wear his cap in the King's presence, or elsewhere, without let or trouble of any man. Dated in July.

514

To the Earl of Darby.

A letter to the Earl of Darby, declaring the King's Majesty is well pleased with his son the Lord Strange, that he shall solemnize marriage with his Majesty's kinswoman the Lady Margaret, daughter to the Duke of Somerset, his Highness's uncle. Dated in July.

For Sir William Petre.

A warrant to the surveyor of Essex, to deliver to Sir William Petre twenty good oaks, fit for timber, within Horsefrith park, in the same county. Dated in August.

Henry Sydney.

A warrant to the cofferer and clerk of the household, to pay Henry Sydney, admitted one of the chief gentlemen of his Majesty's privy chamber in the Lord Darcy's room, 100*l.* a year, payable quarterly.

To Sir Tho. Wroth.

A licence to Sir Thomas Wroth, to give licence to any one of his servants, from time to time, to shoot in any crossbow or handgun, at all kind of fowls, and with licence of the owner, at all manner of deer, red and fallow. Dated in September. [For in the 2d and 3d of the King, all such

BOOK II.

shooting hailshot at any fowl was forbidden to all under the degree of a lord of the Parliament.]

Anno 1551.

For the Lord Darcy.

A warrant to the Lord Marquis of Dorset, and Lord Cobham, to accept into the order of the Garter the Lord Darcy, and to give him his oath, according to a chapter holden at Hampton Court by the King and his brethren, the 28th of September. Dated in October.

To Sir Philip Hoby, Sir John Gates, &c.

Licences to Sir Philip Hoby, Sir John Gates, Edward Lord Clinton, Sir John Mason, for life, with as many as shall come to their tables, to eat flesh and white meats in Lent and other fasting days.

To Sir Anthony Cook.

A warrant to the master and officers of the Court of Wards and Liveries, to deliver to Sir Anthony Cook eight obligations, wherein he standeth bound for the payment of 200*l.* at several days, for the wardship and marriage of William Shelly. And also to discharge him of a yearly rent of 47*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for the manors of Boxsted and Great Horsly, in the counties of Essex and Suffolk, which the King hath forgiven him. Dated in November.

For Sir Edm. Peckham.

A warrant dated in November, to the Duke of Northumberland, William Earl of Pembroke, &c. to discharge Sir Edmund Peckham [treasurer of the mint] in his account which he presently yieldeth to them, the several sums of

£.	s.	d.
4000	0	0
2333	6	8
10642	4	11 *q.*
6790	0	0

which the King, for divers considerations, hath forgiven him. [Sir John York, sub-treasurer, and divers other officers of the mint, had these kind of pardons in December.]

To the Bishop of Rochester.

A licence to John [Scory] bishop of Rochester, and Elizabeth his wife, to eat flesh in Lent, and other fasting days, during his life. Dated in November.

To the Lord Chancellor.

A letter to the Lord Chancellor, to cause a sufficient commission to be made, and sealed with the great seal of England, of oyer and terminer, to the Lord Marquis of Winchester, that he may thereby be the King's seneschal *hac*

[illegible] vice tantum, for the hearing and determining of the treasons and felonies of the Duke of Somerset; giving the date of the said commission the 28th of this month [of November]. And also to cause a commission of oyer and terminer to be directed to the two chief justices, and to their associates: so that the said justices, and any other three of their sociates, be of the quorum of the said commission: and the same to be dated the 29th of this month; for the trying by the order of the laws, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Rafe Fane, and Sir Miles Partridge, knts. John Nudigate, and John Seimour, indicted with the said Duke.

CHAP. XXXI. Anno 1551. 515

Another letter to the said Lord Chancellor, to cause the commission of oyer and terminer, made to the chief justices of both the King's Benches, for the trial of the treasons of Sir Michael Stanhop, and others, to be made again to the Earl of Bedford, Viscount Hereford, Lord Cobham, the Lord Chief Baron, and after appointed in the said commission. Dated in November.

To the same.

A warrant to Sir Anthony Darcy [who was now come into the room of Sir Arthur Markham] for the diet of the Duke of Norfolk every month sithence the 29th of October last, 20*l.* and for the diet of his man, every month 26*s.* 8*d.* and for wood, coal, and candle, 32*s.*

To Sir Anthony Darcy.

And for the diet of Edward Courtney monthly, 5*l.* 8*s.* accounting twenty-eight days to the month: and 20*s.* for his servant: and 8*s.* for wood, coal, and candle. Dated in December.

A warrant to the Chancellor of the Augmentation, and other officers there, to pay to Thomas Bishop of Ely, to whom the King hath committed the custody of the geat seal, for his wages, diet, and livery of himself, and his ministers of the Chancery, in as large manner as the Lord Rich or any other had, from the 22d of December, an. 5. Edw. VI.

To the Chancellor of the Augmentations.

Six letters to being of one import, signifying to them, that where the King's Majesty hath appointed the Bishop of Ely, the Earl of Bedford, Sir John Gates, Sir William Petre, Sir Rob. Bowes, and Sir Walter Mildmay, to be his Highness's commissioners, to peruse and

For the Bishop of Ely, Earl of Bedford, &c.

BOOK II.

Anno 1551.

consider the state of his Majesty's courts, and to understand perfectly what debts be due unto him within the same; his Majesty's pleasure is, that every one of them shall from time to time be attendant upon the said commissioners, giving unto them such instructions, and doing such things, as the said commissioners shall think good to require of them. Dated in December.

To the deputy and council of Ireland.

A letter to the deputy and council of Ireland, that in case they shall think it convenient, they do establish in the same realm an office for the sealing and measuring of linen and woollen cloths, as like offices be in this realm; making reasonable taxes for the same: and to grant a lease thereof to John Colby, during the King's pleasure; reserving to the King such reasonable rents as they shall think good. Dated in January.

To the Bishop of Ely.

A warrant to the Bishop of Ely, to make out a commission to the Lord Treasurer, to take the said [Bishop of Ely] Lord Chancellor's oath.

To Sir Tho. Palmer.

A pardon to Sir Thomas Palmer, of London, of all manner of treasons, &c. Dated in February.

516

For the Marquis of Northampton.

A bill to be enacted for legitimating as well the marriage of William Marquis of Northampton, and Elizabeth his wife, [his former wife yet living, from whom he was divorced,] as the children born between them. Dated as above.

To the Lord Chancellor.

A warrant to the Lord Chancellor, to make forth writs of execution of Sir Rafe Vane, Miles Partridge, Thomas Arundel, and Michael Stanhop, knts. that is to say, for heading of Thomas Arundel and Michael Stanhop, and hanging the rest. Dated as above.

For the lazars of Mile-end.

A protection to beg, granted to the poor lazars of the house of our Saviour Jesus Christ and Mary Magdalen, at Mile-end, [within the parish] of Stepenhache, [Stepney,] in the county of Middlesex: and John Mills appointed their proctor. Sealed February 18.

Protections to beg.

A protection, or licence to beg, granted to Richard Pope, of the parish of Henly, in the county of Hertford, to beg within the county of Hertford: and the same to endure for

one whole year. February 16. [These protections, granted both to hospitals and necessitous persons, were frequently practised, as appears by these following, besides those above, granted in February.] CHAP. XXXI. Anno 1551.

A protection granted to Thomas Drauffield in Darby, to beg within the counties of York and Leicester, and the city of York, and not elsewhere, during one whole year.

A protection granted to the lazars of the hospital of St. Peter nigh St. Edmund's Bury: and George Hodgson, guide of the house, appointed their proctor. To dure one year.

A protection granted to the lazars of the house of Mary Magdalen and St. Anthony of Becoles in Suffolk: and Edward Lydgate appointed their proctor.

A protection granted to the hospital of the brethren without Bishopsgate, London: and Thomas Haliday appointed their proctor.

A protection granted to the hospital of our Lady and St. Katharine, at Newington in Surrey: William Cleybroke their proctor. All these dated in February.

A protection granted to the hospital of Bethlem without Bishopsgate: John Whitehed their proctor: to beg within the counties of Lincoln and Cambridge, the city of London, and Isle of Ely: to endure for a whole year. March 7.

A licence to beg, for Nicolas Sandburne, of Barkeham, in the county of Berks, in consideration of a fire: to beg within the county of Southampton, the Isle of Wight, the town of Southampton: to endure for one year. Dated March 22. [Such licences I find sometimes for losses by fire: but the licences extended not but to one county or two.]

A warrant to the Chancellor of the Augmentation, and to the other officers, to pay to Thomas Bishop of Ely, and lord chancellor, for his wages, diet, and livery of himself, and of the masters of the Chancery; that is to say, after the rate of 542*l.* 15*s.* by the year, from the 19th of January, *an.* 5. *reg.* Edw. VI. so long as he shall exercise the same For the Bishop of Ely.

BOOK II.

Anno 1551.

517

office: and for his attendance in the Star-chamber, after the rate of 50*l.* every term: and after the rate of 300*l.* by year over and above his said allowances quarterly. Dated in March.

1552.

To the Marquis of Brandenburgh.

A letter of thanks to Albert Marquis of Brandenburgh, for falcons sent yearly unto the King by him. Dated in March 1552.

To Henry Smith.

A licence to Henry Smith of London, merchant, to bring into the realm such persons as he shall think meet, for making of glass, of like fashion and goodness to that which is called Normandy. Dated in April.

To the Lord Chancellor.

A warrant to the Lord Chancellor, to make out several writs, to Robert Brook, James Dier, John Caril, Thomas Gawdy, Richard Catlyn, Rafe Rooksby, William Staunford, and William Dallison, esquires, that in consideration that his Majesty hath nominated and appointed them to be sergeants at the law, to prepare themselves for the execution of the same, upon pain of forfeiture of 1000*l.* apiece accordingly. Dated in June.

To the Lady Anne of Cleves.

A letter to the Lady Anne of Cleves, requiring her to give order for the going through with the exchange for the manor of Bisham. Dated in June.

To the mayor of Boston.

A patent of licence granted to the mayor and burgesses of Boston, in the county of Lincoln, that Sir William Cecil, knt. their recorder, may make his deputy in the said office; proviso, that the said deputy be learned in the law. Dated in June.

To the Marquis of Winchester, for John Seimour.

A warrant to the Lord Marquis of Winchester, master of the wards and liveries, signifying, that whereas it is found, that the late Duke of Somerset alienated certain lands which came unto him by Katharin Fylol, his first wife, to the yearly value of 67*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* which should have descended to John Seimour, his eldest son, that he, according to the late act of Parliament for the limitation of the said late Duke of Somerset's lands to the heirs begotten of the body of the Lady Anne, his second wife, appoint unto him so much thereof as shall amount to the same sum; and to award that he may have the same quietly. Dated in July.

CHAP. XXXI.

Anno 1552.

A licence to John Day, printer, of London, to print a catechism, both in Latin and English, which the King's Majesty hath caused to be set forth. Dated in September.

To John Day.

A passport for two of the late Scotch King's bastard sons, to transport out of the realm four dozen of bows, twenty dozen of arrows, and four gross of strings, and two geldings. Dated in October.

For the Scots King's bastard sons.

A warrant to the treasury of the chapter, [of the knights of the Garter,] to allow, from the 5th of July last unto the 7th of October, unto Garter king of arms, 10*s.* by the day; unto Norroy, 6*s.* 8*d.* by the day; to Clarentieux, 6*s.* 8*d.* by the day; to Somerset, 4*s.* by the day; to Rouge Dragon, 2*s.* by the day; to Blue Mantle, 2*s.* by the day; and to allow to Ulster king of arms, for his diet, only 6*s.* 8*d.* by the day. This for their diet in their attendance on his Majesty in this time of his progress. Dated in October.

For the kings at arms and heralds.

A letter to Sir Andrew Dudley, for his revocation from the captainship of Guisnes, to serve about his Majesty in the place of one of the four principal gentlemen of his Highness's 518 privy chamber. Dated in the month above.

To Sir Andrew Dudley.

A licence to Thomas Galtier, of London, to print in French all such books of the Church as shall be set forth. [As Common Prayer Books, Homilies, Injunctions, &c. for the use of the churches in Calais, Guisnes, the isles of Jersey, Guernsey, &c.] Dated in December.

To Thomas Galtier.

A licence to Edward Prime, Thomas Hicks, and Robert Butler, merchants-adventurers of the city of Bristol, to choose a master of the said mystery, and two wardens thereof. And that it shall be a corporation in itself for ever. Dated in December.

To Edward Prime, &c. of Bristow.

A warrant to the keeper of Mortymer park, and the little park in the county of Berks, to deliver to Sir Philip Hoby thirty timber oaks growing there. A like warrant to the keeper of East Hemsted, in the said county, for the like number. [To build him, it may be, an house at Bisham; the monastery there being granted to him.] Dated in January.

For Sir Phil. Hoby.

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

To the Lord Chancellor.

A warrant to the Lord Chancellor, to cause to be made and directed forth process for the calling and summoning of the Parliament at Westminster, against the 1st of March. Dated in January.

To Sir Andrew Dudley.

A warrant to Sir Andrew Dudley, to deliver to John Bridges ten yards of crimson velvet, to make his Majesty a kirtle and a whode for his Parliament robes. Dated in January.

To the Bishop of Peterburgh.

A letter to the Bishop of Peterburgh, licensing him to be absent from the next Parliament, so as he make out his sufficient proxy to some discreet personage of the State.

To John Harwel, &c.

A licence granted to John Harwel, and other nine in the county of Suffolk, clothiers, to make five hundred coarse cloths, so the same be made by Michaelmas next coming: and to sell the same to one Richard Crag, of London, draper, his executors or assigns; and to carry the same out of the realm during the space of one year after the date hereof, into the parts of Danske, or East Land, upon condition that he shall bring in, to the King's Majesty's use, cables, cordage, and ears, for the furniture and munition of the King's ships. Commanding the customers, comptrollers, searchers, to take of him sufficient surety at the time of the shipping, for the bringing in of the cordage, and other marine munition, to the value of the same cloths: provided, that the foresaid parties, after this number of cloths so made, shall not make or continue their trade. Dated February 10.

To the Marquis of Winchester.

A warrant to William Marquis of Winchester, master of the wards and liveries, and to the council of the same court, to make such books and writings for the assurance of the wardship and marriage of Sir Edward Seimour, with the keeping, use, order, and receipt of certain manors, lands, tenements, &c. to the yearly value of 500*l.* and above, to the Earl of Warwick. Dated in February. The patent was signed March 30 following.

To the Marquis of Brandenburgh.

A letter of gratulation to the Marquis of Brandenburgh: [for sending the King falcons, as he did yearly.] Dated in February.

CHAP. XXXI.

A letter to Margaret Tayler, widow, to join in marriage with John Canslare, gentleman of the King's chapel. Dated as before.

Anno 1552. For John Canslare.

A licence to William Seres, for years, to print the books of private prayers, [*viz.* such as were called Primers.] 519 Dated as before.

To William Seres.

A warrant to Sir Edmund Peckham, to deliver to Andrew Wise 4000*l.* to be employed by him towards the payment, as well of the charges of the mines in Ireland, as otherwise, by order of the Privy Council, for the King's service. Dated in March.

To Sir Edmund Peckham.

A warrant to Sir Edmund Peckham, to deliver to Benjamin Gonson, treasurer of the admiralty, the sum of 6000*l.* to be by him defrayed towards the discharge of such debts as are due within that office, for the marine affairs. Dated in March.

To the same.

A warrant to to deliver to Benjamin Gonson, treasurer of the admiralty, the sum of 460*l.* about victualling and furniture of such ships as are presently sent forth for the apprehension of Strangwich the pirate. Dated in March.

For Benjamin Gonson.

A warrant to deliver to Sir Maurice Denys, by way of prest, 6000*l.* to be by himself defrayed about the King's affairs in his office and charge. Dated as above.

For Sir Maurice Denys.

Another warrant to deliver to Andrew Wise 6000*l.* to be delivered by him to the executors of Martin Pirry, late treasurer of the mines in Ireland. Dated as above.

For Andrew Wise.

A letter to the commissioners of the sales of lands, to pass to the Earl of Pembroke certain lands after the rate of twenty years' purchase: and to pass to Sir William Petre certain lands after the same rate; he paying two parts in hand, and a third at Michaelmas. Dated as above.

For the Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Will. Petre.

A licence of privilege granted to John Day, printer, for printing of a Catechism in English, with the brief of an A. B. C. thereunto annexed: and also the printing and reprinting of all such works and books, devised and compiled by the right reverend father in God, John, now Bishop of

1553. To John Day.

BOOK II. Winton, or by Thomas Beacon, professor of divinity: so that no such book, nor any part of them, be in any wise repugnant to the holy Scriptures, or proceedings in religion, and the laws of our realm. Dated at Westminster, March 25.

Anno 1553.

For the Lord Wharton.

A warrant to the Exchequer, to allow unto the Lord Wharton the sum of 6127*l.* 12*s.* 7¼*d.* Who being charged with the said sum upon his account, for his late office of warden of the west marches against Scotland, and for the office of general receiver of certain manors in the county of Cumberland, by the space of eleven years, can produce warrant and sufficient authority for the allowance of the said sum before the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer. Which remission is granted to the same Lord Wharton, as well for the consideration mentioned in the book, as for his long and faithful service. And in the said remission the Lord Dacre and the Lord Conyers must be also allowed and discharged of their petition and demand touching the exercising of the said offices for their time; to be allowed by the said treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer. Dated in March.

To Peter Osborn.

A warrant to Peter Osborn, to disburse to Sir John Gates, by way of loan, the sum of 400*l.* taking his obligation for payment thereof at Whitsuntide 1554. Dated as before.

520 A passport for Sir Hugh Willoughby, knt. to go beyond the seas with four servants, monies, and his chain, &c. Dated as before.

For the Bishop of Norwich.

A warrant to deliver to the Bishop of Norwich the sum of 200*l.* by way of reward for his attendance all the last year hitherto about London in his Majesty's service, being thereunto commanded. Dated as above.

For the King's principal gentlemen.

A warrant to deliver to the four principal gentlemen of the privy chamber the sum of 1000*l.* to be by them defrayed as out of his Majesty's purse. Dated in March.

For the Lady Somerset.

A letter to the Chancellor of the Augmentations, to assign out of the profits arising of the lands of the late Duke of

Somerset 100*l.* to be delivered to the Lieutenant of the Tower of London, for the use of the Lady Somerset. Dated in March. CHAP. XXXI. Anno 1552.

A letter to the Bishop of Worcester, licensing him to repair to the Tower, to the Lady Duchess of Somerset, in this time of Easter. Dated in April. To the Bishop of Worcester.

A licence to Richard Tothel, printer, to print all manner of books of the common law of this realm, for seven years. So as the first copies thereof be allowed by one of the justices of the law, or two sergeants, or three apprentices of the law, whereof one to be a reader in the court, &c. To Richard Tothel.

The custody of Thomas Philpot, lunatic, [or idiot, according to another manuscript,] to the Lord Robert Dudley, with all his lands, goods, &c. and the fee of 100 marks. Dated April 17. To Lord Robert Dudley.

A warrant to the Lord Chancellor, authorizing him to name and appoint, from time to time, commissioners for church goods, in lieu of such as shall happen to die, to be sick, or otherwise occupied about the King's affairs. Dated in April. To the Lord Chancellor.

A warrant to the Lord Treasurer, to deliver to Sir Andrew Dudley out of his charge, certain pieces of coin of gold of sundry coins, to the value of 1435*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* to be by him kept to the King's Majesty's use; and for a device of gold like a standing cup, with divers conclusions of arithmetic, with certain boxes, and in one of them 24 counters of gold, all weighing 108 ounces: two flagons of gold, with chains of the same, weighing 165 ounces, being sent by the Lord Admiral to the French Queen at the christening of her son: one ring of gold, set with a long diamond, sent to the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of France: one other ring, set with a fair table diamond, given by his Majesty to the Scots Queen, at her being here: a pearl pendent to a chain enamelled, being set with diamonds, rubies, and pearls, which was lost by his Majesty wearing the same: and for a George of gold set with eight small diamonds, which was the Earl of Southampton's, delivered to the said Lord Admiral. Dated in April. [This was a discharge for these To the Lord Treasurer.

BOOK II.

jewels to Sir Andrew Dudley, who was keeper of the jewels.]

Anno 1553.

To Sir Andrew Dudley.

A warrant to Sir Andrew Dudley, to deliver for the furniture of the wedding apparel, to the Lord Guilford, and to the Duke of Northumberland, and to the Lady Jane, daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, certain parcels of tissues, and cloths of gold and silver, of the late Duke's and Duchess's of Somerset, as appears by the same. Dated in April.

521 To the same.

A like warrant to him, to take to himself, as of the King's gift, and a warrant to deliver to the Lord Chamberlain, each of them eighteen yards of crimson velvet, for the livery of the order of the Garter. Dated as above.

To the same.

Two like warrants unto him, for ten yards apiece of white sarcenet or taffety, to line the same liveries. Dated as above.

Passports for three ships.

Three several letters of commendation, or safe conduct or passport, for the three ships now going to the Newfound Land, written in Latin, to all kings, princes, and other states. Three other of the same effect written in Hebrew. Three others in Chaldee tongue of the same effect. Dated in May.

Letters about the articles for uniformity and the Catechism.

Twenty letters to signifying, that the King's Majesty hath sent unto every one of them certain articles for an uniform order to be observed within every church within this realm: which articles are gathered with great study, and by the advice of the greatest learned men of the bishops, &c. Dated in May.

Fifty-four articles concerning the uniform order to be observed in every church of this realm. A Catechism also to be taught to scholars, as the ground and foundation of their learning. Dated in May.

To Sir John Gates.

A warrant to Sir John Gates, to cause a book to be drawn of the castle and manor of Hertford, the manor of Hartingford-bury, the parks of Hertford and Hartingford-bury, with the appurtenances, in the county of Hertford; and the manor and park of Wikes in Essex, to the Lady Mary's Grace. Dated in May.

A licence to the Earl of Warwick, to retain an hundred men; and to the Lord Robert Dudley, to retain fifty men. Dated as before. CHAP. XXXI. Anno 1553.

A warrant of discharge to Sir John Williams, for 16,667*l.* 1s. 11¾*d.* paid to Peter Osborn, as the arrearages upon the determination of the said Sir John Williams's account of his late office of mastership of the jewel-house. Dated as above. To Earl Warwick and Lord Robert Dudley. To Sir John Williams.

A warrant to the Lord Chancellor, to make out writs for a Parliament to be holden the 18th of September next. Dated in June. To the Lord Chancellor.

A letter to the Lord Admiral, that it is the King's pleasure that he shall repair unto the Tower of London, and take the charge thereof, there being committed to him the order and governance thereof. Dated in July. To the Lord Admiral.

A letter to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to assist him in all such things as shall by the said Admiral be declared to him or his; and to follow such direction as he shall appoint. [This is the last warrant set down in this Warrant-Book.] To the Lieutenant of the Tower.

CHAP. XXXII. 522

Collations, presentations, indulgences, and permissions to churchmen.

WE go on now with another rank of things worthy observing, collected from the aforementioned manuscripts, *viz.*

V. *Collations, presentations, grants, letters, and licences to men of the Church or University.*

A lease to Nicolas Wotton, dean of Canterbury, for twenty-one years, of the manor of Leigh, with the appurtenances, in Sussex, late parcel of the possessions of Sir Thomas Cheny, knight, with divers other lands, &c. paying therefore yearly 50*l.* to the bailiff or receiver of the premises. Dated in October 1550. 1550. To Nicolas Wotton.

A licence to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, to give, grant, and alien to Edward Duke of Somerset, in fee-simple, all the scite, circuit, and precinct of the chief mansion, called To the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

BOOK II.

the palace of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, with divers other lands, &c. to the yearly value of 62*l.* 11*d.* to be holden by fealty only. Dated in November the same year.

Anno 1550.

To Nicolas Daniel.

A licence to preach to Nicolas Daniel, M. A. Dated in November.

Spillesby church and vicarage.

A grant, that the church of the late college or chantry of Spillesby in Lincolnshire, dissolved by Parliament holden *an. reg.* Edw. VI. 1°. shall be the parish church of Spillesby again, together with the churchyard: and that there shall be a vicar endowed for ever: and he and his successors shall have a messuage, and two barns, and one horsemill and kilnhouse, and one acre of land in Spillesby aforesaid, commonly called in the scite of the said college: and an annuity of 10*l.* out of all the King's lands there, payable quarterly, to be holden in frankalmoigne. Dated as above.

To John Bradford.

A licence of preaching to John Bradford, professor in divinity. Dated in December.

To William Dawson.

A grant to William Dawson, to be vicar preacher in the college of Southwel in Nottinghamshire, with the fee of 20*l.* per annum during pleasure: to be paid by the receiver of the same shire. Dated as before.

For Nic. Wotton.

A nonresidence for Nic. Wotton, clerk, to take all the profits of his prebend in Salisbury, during his life, although he be not resident. Dated as before.

To the Bishop of Chester.

A presentation to John Bishop of Chester, to admit James Pilkington to the vicarage of Kendal in Westmerland. Dated as before.

523

To Sir John Baker.

A warrant to Sir John Baker, knight, [chancellor of the Court of Augmentations,] to exonerate and discharge James Pilkington, clerk, and his executors, of his first-fruits of the vicarage of Kendal, whereunto he is presented; whereof the King hath pardoned him. Dated in December.

To the Bishop of Chester.

A presentation to the Bishop of Chester, to admit Henry Ilkins, clerk, to the parish church of Bedal, void by the death of Thomas Magnus, last incumbent. Dated as before.

To the Dean and Chapter of Wigorn.

A letter to the Dean and Chapter of Worcester; where the King did write to them in favour of Sir Robert Tyr-

alot, knight, for a lease in reversion for sixty years, of the rectory of Wimbleton, that they will make the like grant to Mr. Cecyl, secretary, and rather better; who hath the interest of the said Sir Robert in the said rectory by the old lease. Dated in January.

To Giles Eire.

A nonresidence to Giles Eire, [the King's chaplain,] professor of divinity, during life, to take the profits of his two prebends in Winton and Westminster, whether he be present or absent. Dated as above.

For Peter Alexander.

The advowson of the next canonship or prebend that falleth void in the cathedral church of Canterbury, to Peter Alexander, [a learned stranger, residing with the Archbishop of Canterbury.] Dated in February.

To the Bishop, Dean, and Chapter of Sarum.

A letter to the Bishop, Dean, and Chapter of Salisbury, in favour of William Honning, esquire, [who was one of the clerks of the Council,] where Guido Cavalcant, incumbent of the prebend of Cheping Faringdon in the county of Berks, is contented, upon request made unto him, to give and surrender all his interest and estate of the possession of the said prebend, to agree to his said request, in such sort as the same may take effect towards him in fee-simple. Dated in February.

To the Bishop of Sarum.

A licence to the same Bishop, to grant the premises in fee-simple unto William Honning. Dated as above.

For the Bishop of Norwich.

A warrant to Sir John Baker and Sir William Petre, where the reverend father in God, Thomas Bishop of Norwich, by five writings obligatory, every of them bearing date the 10th of April, anno 4 Edw. VI. standeth bound to the King's Majesty in the sum of 1000*l.* for the sure payment of 583*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* to be paid for his first-fruits: to defalk, deduct, and allow to the said reverend Father out of the said sum 400*l.* and to deliver so many obligations for payment as amounts to the said sum: which the King hath forgiven him. Dated as above.

To Richard Squire.

An annuity of 9*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to Richard Squire, vicar of the parish of Dovercourt in Essex, to be paid of the tenths of the parsonage of Dovercourt, from Christmas anno 4 Edw.

BOOK II.

VI. half yearly, in recompence of a promise made to him thereof by the King's Majesty's father. Dated as above.

Anno 1550.

To the Bishop of Chester.

A presentation to the Bishop of Chester, to admit John Standish, D. D. to the parsonage of Wiggon in his diocese, void by the death of Mr. Herbert, late incumbent. Dated in March.

For Dr. Bill.

A warrant to John Rither, cofferer, to pay William Bill, D. D. an annuity of 20*l.* from Michaelmas, *an.* 3. *reg.* during the King's pleasure.

524

To the Bishop of Exon.

A letter to the Bishop of Exeter, [Voysey,] to suffer the Earl of Bedford, and others of the Council, to procure the best assurance for certain lands bought of him, appertaining to his bishopric. Dated in March.

To Gest, Ayland, and Bernard.

A licence of preaching to Edmund Gest, B. D. The like to Henry Ayland, B. D. and Thomas Bernard, M. A. Dated as above.

To Bishop Ponet.

A translation of John Ponet, bishop of Rochester, to the bishopric of Winchester, during his life, with all lordships, manors, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and other possessions, as well spiritual as temporal, with all other commodities and jurisdictions. Dated in March.

To the same.

The translation of the said John Bishop of Rochester, to the bishopric of Winchester, during his life, with all the lordships and manors, &c. New signed, because his spiritual jurisdictions and probate of testaments was not in the other. Dated in the same month.

To William Thynn.

A licence to William Thynn, prebendary in the cathedral church of Wells, to grant and alienate to Edward Duke of Somerset, in fee-simple, all the manor of Dultingcote and Chilcote in the county of Somerset, with the appurtenances, belonging to his prebend there, by fine or recovery: and also to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and to the Dean and Chapter, to ratify and confirm the said grant: and to the said Duke, to grant and exchange therefore to the said William Thynn, and his successors, the manor of Tyngerst, alias Fingurst, in the county of Bucks. Dated as before.

CHAP. XXXII.

Anno 1550.

A licence for preaching to James Haddon, M. A. of Cambridge; and to John Wilcock, M. A. of Cambridge. Dated in March.

To J. Haddon and Wilcock.

A presentation to William Bishop of Bath and Wells, to admit William Turner, doctor of physic, [and who lived in the Duke of Somerset's family,] to the deanery of the church of Wells, with all the lands and tenements thereunto belonging: which the King hath given him, with the prebend of Currey. Dated in March.

To Dr. Turner.

1551.

A nonresidence to William Turner, to be absent from his deanery within the church of Wells, and to take the profits notwithstanding, during his life. Dated in March.

To the same.

A presentation to Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, to admit William Marsh to the parsonage of St. Peter's within the marches of Calais, of Turwyn diocese, void by the resignation of John Butler, the late incumbent. Dated in March.

To the Archbishop of Canterbury.

A collation to John Scory to the bishopric of Rochester, with all lordships, manors, lands, tenements, &c. during his life, from the translation of John, now Bishop of Winchester. Dated in April.

To Scory.

A letter to the Dean and Chapter of Worcester; where they have granted to Sir Philip Hoby the parsonage of Lenchwich and Norton in the county of Worcester; and to John Barnsley, the farm and parsonage of Linrich, for twenty-one years; the King's Majesty's pleasure is, although the statutes of their house do not permit them to extend their grants any further than for twenty-one years, to dispense with their statutes in that behalf; and desireth them to grant the same leases to them for sixty years apiece. Dated in April.

To the Dean and Chapter of Worcester.

A presentation to Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, to admit William Britten to the parish church of St. Dionys in Lime-street in London: which Thomas Pannel hath resigned to the same William, by his writing dated 13th Feb. anno 5 Ed. VI. Dated as before.

To the Archbishop of Canterbury.

525

A presentation to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to ad-

To the same.

BOOK II.

mit Christopher Ashburn, B. A. to the parsonage of St. Michael's in Crooked-lane, London. Dated in April.

Anno 1551.

To Trinity college.

A letter to Trinity college in Cambridge, declaring the King is pleased to dispense with Thomas Dovel, B. D. and vice-master of that college, for enjoying of his fellowship and vice-mastership, notwithstanding he be married. Dated in May.

To the Bishop of Carlisle.

A letter to the Bishop of Carlisle, that at the contemplation thereof he would grant to the Lord Clinton, lord admiral, a lease for sixty years of the manor of Horncastle in Lincolnshire, after the accustomed yearly rent. Dated in May.

To the Bishop of Winchester.

A licence of preaching to the Bishop of Winchester within this realm: and to appoint whom he shall judge meet to preach within his diocese; and to inhibit them whom he shall not think meet within the same. Dated as before.

For Bishop Scory.

A warrant to take bond of John Scory, bishop of Rochester, for the payment of his first-fruits, to begin at the Annunciation of our Lady, anno 1554. At which day he shall pay 100 marks: and so yearly at the same feast 100 marks, till the same be satisfied and paid. Dated as before.

To the Bishop of Oxon.

A letter to the Bishop of Oxon, that he will grant for reasonable years and rent to William Higham and William Holms, the parsonage of Oughton, alias Overton on the Hill, in the county of Leicester; which is presently in his disposition. Dated in May.

For Dr. Rowland Taylor.

A letter to that it is the King's pleasure, that Dr. Rowland Taylor shall succeed in the preacher's room of Canterbury, now void by promoting Dr. Scory to the bishopric of Rochester, who last had the same. Dated as before.

For John Calvely.

A letter to in favour of John Calvely, that they will grant a lease in reversion, under their chapter seal, for fifty years, of the whole lordship of Stoughton, alias Sawton, a piece of land called Church, in Hethe in Che-

Mire, with all profits and commodities thereunto belonging. [They had granted this before to Calvely, for as many years as their statutes would allow: but this letter served to dispense with them for letting it for fifty years.] Dated as before.

To John Clark.

A licence to John Clark, to have, hold, and enjoy his prebend in Wells during his life; and a licence to him to marry. [As though he thought his marriage without the King's licence might have shaken his right and title to his prebend; but he did not seem well to consider the act made in the second year of this King, which took off all old canons and constitutions against priests' marriage, and that all forfeitures, pains, and penalties for the breach of them should be of none effect.] Dated in May.

To George Carew.

A nonresidence to George Carew, during his life, to have all rents, benefits, fruits, &c. of his prebends in the churches of Oxon and Wells, notwithstanding his absence. Dated in May.

To the Archbishop of Canterbury.

A presentation to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to admit Richard Kiffin to the parsonage of Bonings in the marches of Calais, void by the resignation of Anthony Lisle, last incumbent: which was delivered without preaching before the King, notwithstanding the order taken. Dated as before. 526

For the bishopric of Winton.

A warrant to the Chancellor, Treasurer, and Council, and to all other officers of the Court of First-fruits and Tenths; where the King's Majesty hath given to John late Bishop of Rochester, the bishopric of Winchester: and where it is agreed, that the said Bishop should assure unto the King divers manors, lands, &c. of the said bishopric, and the King granted to assure to the said Bishop divers of his lands, tenements, and possessions, by reason whereof the said bishopric shall be greatly diminished: the King is contented therefore, that the said bishopric of Winchester, and the revenues thereof, shall be rated, taxed, and charged to the King's Majesty at 2000 marks for the first-fruits, and not above, [whereas before it was valued in the King's book at 2885*l.* 3*s.* 3¾*d.*] as often as the first-fruits thereof

BOOK II.

Anno 1551.

shall be due and payable: and the same bishopric of Winchester, and the possessions and revenues thereof, from henceforth shall be rated, taxed, and charged at 200 marks yearly, and not above, for the yearly tenths of the said bishopric: and that he shall be discharged of all sums of money heretofore due, or used to be paid for the first-fruits and tenths of the said bishopric. And further, the King hath licensed the said Bishop to enter into the same bishopric before the payment of the said first-fruits; to take only the bonds of the said Bishop, without surety or sureties to be bound with him, by ten several obligations, for the sure payment of the said 2000 marks, for the satisfaction of his first-fruits, and of all other sums of money, in ten years. And further, to deliver all bonds and writings touching the first-fruits of the bishopric of Rochester, to the said Bishop of Winchester; which the King hath forgiven him. Dated in May.

To the Bishop of Winton.

A gift to the said Bishop, in consideration of the manors of Marden, Twiford, Marwel, Waltham, &c. in the county of Southampton, and of divers other lands, tenements, rents, &c. of all the rectory of Bremmer, and of the chapel of Charford and Hale, and of the rectory of Rogborn in the county of Southampton, with divers other lands, to the yearly value of 2000 marks: to be holden *in liberam eleemosynam;* and to take the profits from Michaelmas last. Dated in May.

To the same.

A licence to the said Bishop of Winchester, to enter into the said bishopric, and to take and receive the profits thereof, without paying any thing thereof, notwithstanding a statute made in that behalf in the 26th of the reign of Henry VIII. [anno Dom. 1534,] with a pardon to him of all pains, penalties, and sums of money that might be forfeited and due to the King, for entering into the bishopric of Rochester contrary to the said statute. Dated in May. [The said statute was, that every bishop, or other spiritual person, before any actual or real possession, or meddling with the profits of the bishopric, or other spiritual promotion, should satisfy, content, and pay, or compound and

agree to pay to the King's use, at reasonable days, upon good sureties, the first-fruits.]

Ann. 1551.

A letter to [the Dean and Chapter of Winton] to confirm the grant of the said Bishop, by their full consent and seal of the chapter, as in that case by the order of the laws is requisite and accustomed. Dated as before. To the Dean and Chapter of Winton.

A presentation to the Bishop of Winton, to admit Leonard Bilson, M. A. to the prebend in the cathedral church of Winton, void by the death of Thomas White. Dated in June. 527 For L. Bilson.

A presentation of John Ashdown to Ashtisford, [in Kent,] which Ponet, when bishop of Rochester, held with his bishopric. Dated in June. For John Ashdown.

A licence to John Bishop of Glocester, and Anne his wife, during his life, with five or six guests, to eat flesh and white meats in Lent, and on other fasting days. Dated as before. To the Bishop of Glocester and his wife.

A presentation to the Bishop of Norwich, to admit Launcelot Thexton to the parish church of Great Bircham, in his diocese. Dated in June. To the Bishop of Norwich.

The deanery of Bristow to John Whithear, clerk, for life, after John Snow's death, or when it shall be void. Dated as before. To John Whithear.

A presentation to Nicolas Bishop of Worcester, to present John Harley, M. A. to the prebend of Worcester, called the *nineteenth prebend*, void by Webley's death. Dated as before. For John Harley.

A licence of preaching to Miles Wilson, M. A. student in divinity in the University of Cambridge. Dated May 7. For Miles Wilson.

A letter to the Archbishop of York, in favour of Mr. Rider, cofferer, for the prebend of Uskel, which William Laighton late had. Dated in July. To the Archbishop of York.

The collocation of the bishopric of Exeter to Miles Coverdale, with a licence of entry into the said bishopric, being of the yearly value of 500*l.* now, and no more; whereafore it was of 1565*l.* 13*s.* 6¾*d.* And that the yearly tenths shall be but 50*l.* hereafter: and to be discharged of this To Miles Coverdale.

BOOK II.

year's tenths, and all arrearages in the old Bishop's time. Dated in July.

Anno 1551.

To Veysey, late bishop of Exeter.

A grant to John Veysey, late bishop of Exeter, upon his resignation of his said bishopric, to enjoy all annuities granted unto him out of the lands of the bishopric, whereof he hath made a state in fee-simple to others: and also to enjoy certain rents granted out of the bishopric to certain persons, that be come to his hands: and that the said late bishop may plead in any court by the name of John Veysey. Dated in July.

For Bishop Coverdale.

A warrant to the Court of First-fruits and Tenths, to discharge Miles Coverdale, a late made bishop of Exeter, of his first-fruits. Dated in August.

To Sir John Mason.

A letter to Sir John Mason, knt. where the Bishop of Winchester hath departed to the King's Majesty certain lands lately belonging to the see of Winchester; which lands behoveth to be confirmed to his Highness, under the chapter seal of the cathedral church there, before Michaelmas next; that he with convenient speed repairing thither, and agreeing with the Bishop to meet with them there at a day certain, do cause all the canons, prebendaries, and others whom it concerneth, to assemble and come together in the chapter-house at Winchester, for confirming of the said lands before the feast of Michaelmas; advising the Council the day of their meeting, as order may be given to the King's learned Council to be there at the same time. Dated in August.

To the Bp. of Exeter.

A licence of preaching to Miles Coverdale, bishop of Exeter. Dated in September.

528 To the same.

A licence to the said Bishop, and Elizabeth his wife, during their lives, with five or six at their table, to eat flesh and white meats in Lent, and other fasting days. Dated in September.

To Bartholomew Traheron.

The deanery within the cathedral church of Chichester, in Sussex, given to Bartholomew Traheron, for life, void by the death of Giles Aire, late the King's chaplain, with all the profits thereto belonging. Dated as before.

CHAP. XXXII.

Anno 1551.

A letter to the Dean and Chapter of Worcester, in favour of William Huggon, to grant him a lease for forty years of their lordship of Himbleton in Worcestershire. Dated as above. To the Dean and Chapter of Worcester.

A presentation to the Bishop of Winchester, to admit John Rud, B. D. to a prebend in that church, void by the death of Giles Eyre. Dated in September. To the Bishop of Winton.

A letter to the Prebend and Chapter of Chichester, to elect Bartholomew Traheron dean thereof, and to do all other things thereunto requisite. Dated as above. For Bartholomew Traheron.

A licence of preaching to Launcelot Thexton, M. A. Dated in October. To Launcelot Thexton.

A letter to to elect Mr. Lever to be master of [St. John's] college in Cambridge, now void by reason of the preferment of him that was late master there [viz. Dr. Bill] to another promotion within the same University. Dated in November. For Mr. Lever.

A grant to Robert Horne of the deanery within the cathedral church of Durham, with all and singular preeminences, jurisdictions, lands, &c. for term of his life, in as large and ample manner as Hugh Whithed had it. Dated as before. To Robert Horn.

A grant of the mastership of Trinity college to William Bill, D. D. for life, void by the death of John Redman, clerk, with all manors, mansions, &c. Dated in November. To William Bill.

A presentation to John Bishop of Winchester, to admit John Watson to a prebend in that church, void by the death of Anthony Barker, late incumbent. Dated in November. For John Watson.

A presentation to the Bishop of London, to admit Thomas Rose to the vicarage of West Ham, void by the death of the said Anthony. Dated in November: but the seal passed not till January 18 following. For Thomas Rose.

A presentation to admit Nicolas Udal, M. A. to a prebend of Windsor, void by the death of the said Anthony. Dated as before. For Nicolas Udal.

A presentation to admit Alexander Nowel to a prebend in St. Peter's in Westminster, void by the death of John Redman. Dated as before. For Alex. Nowel.

BOOK II.

Anno 1551.

For Nicolas Ashton.

A presentation to John Bishop of Chester, to admit Nicolas Ashton to the vicarage of Kirby in Kendal, void by the resignation of James Pilkington, late incumbent. Dated as before.

For Thomas Kay.

A letter to [the Fellows of University college, in Oxon,] to elect Thomas Kay to the mastership of their college, void by the resignation of the late master there. Dated as above.

To the Provost and Fellows of King's college.

A letter to the Provost [Sir John Cheke] and Fellows of King's college, in Cambridge, that in choosing ordinary officers, they use first the order prescribed in the statutes: and if, after due form used, they cannot agree, that then he be taken for officer whom the said Provost shall appoint; whom the rest of the fellows shall obey during the time of his said office, in all things that the statute wills them, until
529 further order be therein taken, either by the King's Majesty, or the Bishop of Lincoln, [their visitor.] Dated in December.

To Jewel and Sampson.

A licence of preaching to John Jewel. A like licence to Thomas Sampson. Dated in December.

To the Bishop of London.

A licence to Nicolas Bishop of London, to give to Thomas Lord Wentworth, and his heirs, all his chief messuage, with the appurtenances, in the county of Middlesex, with divers other lands, tenements, &c. [the yearly value not expressed,] to be holden in fealty only. Dated in December.

For Richard Turner.

A presentation to admit Richard Turner, B. D. to a prebend within the chapel of St. George the Martyr, in the castle of Windsor, void by the death of Simon Simons. Dated in December: the patents sealed Dec. 24.

To Shepheard.

A licence of preaching to Adam Shepheard, B. D. Dated January 15.

Tho. Carew.

Thomas Carew made archdeacon of Norwich, void by the death of Alexander Carew. Dated in February.

To John Ellis.

A grant to John Ellis of a canonship in the church of Rochester, void by the death of William Harrison. Dated in February.

To Trinity hall.

A letter to the Fellows of Trinity hall, in Cambridge, to receive for their master Dr. Haddon, the King's principal reader in the civil law. Dated in February.

A licence for preaching to Nicolas Grimwald, M. A. Dated January 2.

Anno 1551.

A licence of preaching to Thomas Wylson. Dated February 23.

To Grimwald.

Annuities of 40*l.* each, during pleasure, to be made from Michaelmas last, to William Bill, D. D. Mr. Grindal, B. D. Mr. Perne, D. D. Mr. Harley, B. D. the King's ordinary chaplains. Signed March 13, with a *liberat dormant.*

To Thomas Wilson.

To the King's chaplains.

A licence of preaching to Dr. Bill. Dated March 1.

To Dr. Bill.

A presentation to Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, to admit William Britain, doctor of law, to St. Denys Back-church, void by the resignation of William Ereth. Dated in March.

For William Britain.

A presentation to John Bishop of Lincoln, to admit Thomas Wilson to the parsonage of Washingborough, void by promoting the said John Bishop of Lincoln. Dated in March.

For Thomas Wilson.

The translation of John [Scory] Bishop of Rochester, to the bishopric of Chichester, with all lordships, manors, lands, &c. to the same bishopric belonging, to him during his life. Dated in April.

1552. Bishop of Rochester.

Translation of John [Hoper] Bishop of Glocester, to the bishopric of Worcester, with all lordships, manors, &c. to the same belonging. Dated in April.

Bp. Hoper.

A grant to Roland Tayler, LL. D. for life, of the archdeaconry of Exon, with all lordships, manors, &c. to the same belonging. Dated in April. With the pensions granted him by the Court of Augmentations in recompence of a prebend and synodals of the late dissolved college, Glasney, and of the abbeys of Bodmin, Tywardreth, and Luxam, with the discharge of his first-fruits, and the arrearages of his predecessors for their tenths and subsidies. Signed May 3.

To Rowland Tayler.

A pardon or release to the Bishop of Rochester, of all manner of debts, or arrearages of debts, due to the King for tenths for his bishopric and first-fruits. Dated in May.

To the Bishop of Rochester.

A warrant to take the bonds of the new elected Bishop of Lincoln, for the payment of his first-fruits and tenths: the

530

For the Bp. of Lincoln.

BOOK II.

first payment to begin at Michaelmas 1558, after 100*l.* by year. Dated in May.

Anno 1558.

To Taverner.

A licence to Richard Taverner to preach. Dated as before.

For Bartholomew Traheron.

A letter to the Chancellor of the First-fruits, for the remission of Bartholomew Traherin [Traheron] of 52*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* due for the first-fruits of the deanery of Chichester. Dated as before.

To the Dean and Chapter of Exon.

A letter to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, for continuance of the divinity lecture in the cathedral church there, as the King's late visitors appointed it. Dated as before.

For Bishop Hoper.

A warrant to the officers of the Court of First-fruits, to discharge John Hoper, bishop of Worcester, of all his first-fruits. Dated in May.

To Grindal.

A licence to Edmund Grindal, B. D. to preach. Dated in June.

To Clement Paston.

The prebend of Horton in the county of Glocester, parcel of the possessions of the Duke of Somerset, leased to Clement Paston, esq. for twenty-one years, paying yearly for the same 65*l.* 1*s.* 7½*d.* Dated in June.

For Matthew Parker.

A presentation for Matthew Parker, for the prebend of Corringham, in the church of Lincoln. Dated in June. Passed the seal June 21.

For the same.

A letter also to the President and Chapter of the church of Lincoln, to admit and choose the said Matthew Parker, D. D. to the deanery of Lincoln. Dated as before.

To the Bishop of Lincoln.

A licence to the Bishop of Lincoln to preach, with authority to him to forbid any to preach within his diocese, being unable, and not having the King's licence. Dated as above.

To the Bishop of Chichester.

A licence to the Bishop of Chichester, both to preach himself, and also at his discretion to license or forbid any other within his diocese. Dated in June.

To Dr. Standish.

A licence to Dr. Standish, one of the King's chaplains, to enjoy his prebend in the church of Worcester, as though he were resident. Dated as before.

For Thomas Harding.

A letter in favour of Thomas Harding, [chaplain to the Marquis of Dorset,] that they will, at the contemplation of

his Majesty's letter, accept and choose him to be master of their college, whensoever the same shall next become void. Dated as above. CHAP. XXXII. Anno 1552.

A letter requiring them, at the contemplation thereof, to nominate and elect Dr. [Walter] Haddon, at Michaelmas next, to the room that Dr. Oglethorp hath in their college, [which was the presidentship of Magdalen college in Oxon,] who is then willing to resign the same. Dated as before. For Dr. Haddon.

A patent granted for exchange of lands to the right reverend William Bishop of Bath and Wells, *viz.* for the chief mansion of the deanery of Wells, with all the lands within the precincts of the same: and also the manor of Westoker, with the right of patronage of the parsonage of Westoker, and the borough of Wellington and Stogursey, in the county of Somerset, to the yearly value of 60*l.* 2*s.* 11½*d.* And also of the park of Wedmore: and for one annuity of 16*l.* coming yearly of the manor of Glastenbury, in the said county: [which were made over to the King:] and the Bishop to have the chief mansion belonging to the Bishop's see, commonly called *the Bishop of Bath and Wells' palace,* 531 with all the appurtenances within the precincts of the said palace, and the house in Wells appointed for the safe custody of the clerks convict, and all the manors in Wells and Westbury: and all the borough of Wells, and the hundred of Wells, with all their appurtenances; late parcel of the possession and inheritance of Edward Duke of Somerset, attainted of felony, and sometime parcel of the possessions of the Bishop of Bath and Wells. And also the park called Westbury Park, parcel of the possessions of the foresaid Duke: *etiam nativos, nativas et villanos cum eorum sequelis: habend. eidem episcopo et successoribus suis in perpetuum tenend. de Domino Rege in perpetuam eleemosynam:* with a pardon for his first-fruits. The indenture dated in July: the patents dated at Westminster, Aug. 1, *ann. reg.* 6. To the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

A licence of preaching to Edward Pilkington, M. A. and another to Griffith Jones. Dated in July. To Pilkington and Jones.

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

A grant to Edmund Grindal, of a prebend in the church of Westminster, for life, void by the death of Breton. Dated in July.

To Grindal.

To Magdalen college, Oxon.

A letter to the Fellows of [Magdalen college, Oxon,] to choose next Michaelmas Dr. Haddon president thereof: and that the King is not pleased for the denying of his former letters, nor for the division that is between them. Dated as before.

For John Pullen.

A presentation to the Bishop of London, to admit John Pullen, B. D. to the parsonage of St. Peter's in Cornwall, void by the advancing of John [Tayler] Bishop of Lincoln, to that bishopric. Dated in July.

To Rafe Cavelare.

A grant to Rafe Cavelare, [Cavalerius,] stranger, to be free denizen; and therein the advowson of a prebend [or, *of the next prebend or deanery*, as Chancellor Goodrick's leger-book sets it down,] in the church of Canterbury: in consideration of his reading the Hebrew lecture freely in Cambridge. Dated in August.

To James Haddon.

A gift to James Haddon, B. A. of the prebend of Westminster, void by the death of Anthony Bellows, LL. D. and master of chancery. Dated in August.

To Dr. Standish.

A licence of nonresidence granted to Dr. Standish, a prebendary in the church of Worcester, being one of the King's ordinary chaplains, to have the said prebend, being in any other his promotions; any constitution or act of Parliament that is or shall be to the contrary notwithstanding. Dated at Christ's Church, [where the King was in his progress,] August 20.

To Edwin Sands.

A grant to Edwin Sands, D. D. of a prebend within the church of Carlisle, void by the death of Ballace, [Bellows.] Dated in September.

For John Dee.

A presentation to the Bishop of Worcester, to admit John Dee to the parsonage of Upton, void by the promotion of John Harley to the bishopric of Hereford. Dated in Sept.

To the Bishop of Bath.

A letter to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, signifying his Majesty's contentation, that the Bishop having many fit places within the precinct of the house of Wells, to make an

seal of, and for his hospitality, may (edifying one thereon) take down the great hall now standing, and grant the same away: commending unto him for that purpose Sir Henry Gates, upon knowledge had of the Bishop's good inclination towards him. Dated in September.

532 A letter to the Master and Fellows of St. John's college, Oxon, to place one Alexander Smutches, stranger, in that place which Johannes ab Ulmis, lately departed hence, had. Dated as above.

For Nicolas Uvedale. A presentation to John Bishop of Winchester, to admit Nicolas Uvedale, M. A. to the parsonage of Calborne, in the Isle of Wight, void by the promoting of John Goodacre to the archbishopric of Cashel in Ireland. Dated in September.

To John Old. A grant to John Old, D. D. for life, of the canonship or prebend in the cathedral church of Hereford, void by the death of Anthony Bellasis, [or Bellows,] and in the King's gift by vacation of the said bishopric. Dated in September: signed and sealed October 4.

To the Dean and Chapter of Worcester. The King's letters to the Dean and Chapter of Worcester, to confirm under the chapter seal such assurance as shall be devised for his Highness, for certain lands and hereditaments reserved of the old possessions of the bishopric of Worcester. Dated in September.

To the same. A letter to the Bishop, Dean, and Chapter of Worcester, for the surrender of the bishopric of Worcester, to the intent there may be a new collation of the same, by the name of the bishopric of Worcester and Glocester. Dated in September.

For Nicolas Udal. A letter in favour of Nicolas Udal to the Dean and Chapter of Windsor, to have his dividend, and other commodities growing to him by the prebend there, during the time of his absence thence; in consideration that he hath been occupied in preaching. Dated in September.

To the Bishop of Hereford. A letter to the Bishop of Hereford, for granting of Hereford place in London, to the Lord Admiral, in fee-simple.

To Andrew Perne. A grant of a prebend in Westminster, void by the death of Simon Heins, to Andrew Perne, the King's chaplain. Dated in October.

BOOK II.

Anno 1532.

To James Haddon.

A grant of the deanery of the cathedral church of Exeter, which Simon Heins, lately deceased, had, to James Haddon, D. D. to have during life. Dated in October: but the patent not signed till January 8. at Westminster.

For Trinity college.

Statutes signed by the King's Majesty for Trinity college in Cambridge. Dated in October.

To George Burden.

A prebend granted to George Burden, B. D. in the cathedral church of Rochester, now void by the death of Wilbore: and that he shall have the daily distributions, dividends, &c. arising thence, whether he be absent or present; provided that he make yearly sermons of the gospels in the aforesaid church, either by himself, or some sufficient minister. Dated in September: but the patent bore date November 28.

To the Bishop of Glocester.

A patent and grant made by the King to the Bishop of Glocester, *viz.* uniting the bishopries of Glocester and Worcester in one, and to be one from henceforth, of one diocese, and so reputed and taken. The patent dated December 8.

To Richard Alvey.

Richard Alvey, B. L. a donation to him of a prebend in the church of Westminster. Dated in September: but the patent bore date December 11.

To Bartholomew Traheron.

A grant of a prebend of Windsor to Bartholomew Traheron. Dated in September.

For John Bale.

A letter to the Deputy of Ireland, to place and receive John Bale, professor of divinity, as a man commended by his Majesty, to the bishopric of Ossory there. Dated in October.

533

For Trinity college.

A letter to the Lord Chancellor, to cause the great seal of England to be put to a commission given to certain commissioners, for the devising and making divers and sundry statutes and ordinances to be observed in Trinity college in Cambridge. Dated in October.

For Bernard Gilpin.

A presentation to the Bishop of Chester, to admit Bernard Gilpin to the parsonage of Thornton. Dated in November.

For Will. Denison.

William Denison, B. D. presented to St. Edmund's, Lumbard-street, void by the attainder of John Percy, late incumbent. Dated in November.

CHAP. XXXII.

Anno 1552.

A grant to Robert Horn, professor of divinity, of the bishopric of Durham, with all lordships, manors, lands, &c. to the same belonging, during his life. Dated in November.

To Robert Horn.

A grant to John Hooper of the bishopric of Worcester and Glocester: and a gift to him and his successors for ever, of all the lordships and manors of Alchurch, &c. Dated in November.

To Hooper.

A presentation to the Bishop of Worcester, to admit Alexander Creek, clerk, to the vicarage of Kidderminster, void by the preferment of John Harley. Dated in December.

To the Bishop of Worcester.

An annuity of 40*l.* to John Knox, until he be promoted to some benefice; to be paid at the augmentation quarterly. Dated in December.

For John Knox.

A lease to Edward Lord Clinton for two hundred years, of the Bishop of Hereford's house in London: paying yearly 12*d.* Now signed in December, [as one was signed in the month before,] for that there wanted in the other the rehearsal of certain former leases.

The Bp. of Hereford's house.

A grant of a prebend in the cathedral church of Worcester to Arthur Dudley. Dated in December.

To Arthur Dudley.

A patent granted to the Dean of the free chapel of St. George of Windsor, and to his successors, to be a body corporate, and to purchase lands to the value of 40*l.* And to have the parsonage and church of Dunstable Houghton, with the advowson of the vicarage, in the county of Bedford; lately parcel of the possessions of St. Alban's, in the county of Hertford; *viz.* the said parsonage is granted to William Franklyn, now dean there, and his successors; and to convert the same to their own use, rendering to the King 3*l.* Which rectory and the premises extend to the clear yearly value of 41*l.* Dated December 10.

To the Dean of Windsor.

A letter to the Bishop of Ely, lord chancellor, to take order, that no person do demand a fee of the Bishop of Worcester and Glocester. Dated in December.

For the Bishop of Worcester.

A letter to the Bishop of Exeter, that the King's pleasure is, to dispense with Dr. Haddon for taking of any other

To the Bp. of Exeter.

BOOK II.

orders than he hath already. Dated in December. [Perhaps he took orders among the Protestants beyond sea.]

Anno 1552.

To Thomas Baily.

A prebend of Bristol granted to Thomas Baily, B. D. Dated in December.

To Traheron.

A grant of a prebend of Windsor to Bartholomew Traheron. Dated in January.

For Anthony Salvyn.

A presentation to the Bishop of Bath, to admit Anthony Salvyn to the parish church of Higham. Dated in January.

For the same.

A letter to Sir John Baker, to discharge Anthony Salvyn of such bonds as were made for the payment of the first-fruits of the mastership of the hospital of Sherborn, in the
534 diocese of Durham: and to take bond of Sir Robert Rede for payment thereof; in respect of the grant thereof unto him made. Dated as above.

To Sir Robert Rede.

The office of mastership of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen of Sherborn, in the bishopric of Durham, to Sir Robert Rede, knt. for life. Dated in February.

To Thomas Sampson.

A grant to Thomas Sampson, D. D. for life, of the deanery of Chichester, with the profits thereunto belonging, upon the resignation of Bartholomew Traheron, D. D. Dated in February.

To Gilpin.

A licence of preaching to Bernard Gilpin, B. D. Dated in February.

To Madowel.

A licence for preaching to John Madowel, B. D. Dated in February.

To A Lasco.

A licence to John à Lasco, during his life, to eat flesh in Lent, and other fasting days. Dated in February: but the patent bore date March 11.

To Harley.

The creation of John Harley, D. D. one of his Majesty's ordinary chaplains, to the bishopric of Hereford, for life, with all the lordships and manors belonging to the same, except the mansion called *the Bishop of Hereford's house*, lying in Old Fish-street, London, with the gardens and houses belonging to the same, [which the Lord Clinton had got from the see.] Granted in February: but the patent bore date March 28, 1553.

A special licence granted to Ormund Hill, clerk, to obtain, purchase, or possess any manner of parsonage, vicarage, lands, tenements, or other hereditaments whatsoever, to the value of 20*l.* by lease or otherwise, notwithstanding any act to the contrary. Dated March 18. To Ormund Hill.

A licence for preaching to John Parkhurst, clerk. Dated in April. To Parkhurst.

A like licence to Guy Eton, clerk. Dated in April. To Guy Eton.

A like licence to Alexander Nowel, schoolmaster of Westminster. Dated as before. To Alexander Nowel.

A patent to John Barlow, clerk, dean of the church of Worcester, giving him by the same full power and authority to take and receive of the King, or of any of his subjects whatsoever, manors, messuages, lands, parsonages, tenements, &c. in farm, to him, his executors, or assigns, being either of the demission or grant of the King, or any other persons, for the term of sixty years, either more or less, as between them can be agreed: so the clear value of the said manors, messuages, &c. so by the said Barlow taken and received to farm, do not exceed the clear value yearly of 50*l.* without incurring any forfeiture or penalty of the act made in the 21st of King Henry VIII. of the statute of lands and tenements to let to farm to clerks and ecclesiastical persons. [Which statute actually forbad any spiritual person to take to farm manors, lands, tenements, &c. upon pain to forfeit 10*l* for every month they shall occupy such farm.] This patent was dated April 7. To John Barlow.

A licence to the Dean of Chester, to grant by deed indented, or otherwise, any of his lands, tenements, &c. to Sir Richard Cotton, knt. of the yearly rent of 603*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.* Dated in April. To the Dean of Chester.

A licence of preaching to John Rud, B. D. Dated as before.

A letter to to proceed to the election and nomination of a new master of the Savoy, according to the foundation and statutes of the same house. Dated in May. For a new master in the Savoy.

The office of master of the Savoy to Rafe Jackson, for life, with all fees. Dated in June. To Rafe Jackson.

BOOK II.

Anno 1553.

535

Articles of religion.

Articles agreed on by the bishops, and other learned men, in the synod at London, in the year of our Lord 1552, for avoiding of controversy in opinions, and the establishment of a godly concord in certain matters of religion, published by the King's Majesty's commandment in the month of May 1552.

The book signed by the King.

A book signed by the King's Majesty, containing the articles aforesaid.

To William Walby.

A grant of the next prebend in the church of Fridewide, Oxon, to William Walby, bachelor in physic. Dated in June.

To David Vincent.

A licence to the Bishop of Peterburgh, to give and grant to David Vincent all the wood called *Thomas wood*, and the gift of the parsonage of Bernak in Northamptonshire. Dated in June.

To the same.

A gift to David Vincent, in fee-simple, of the prebend of Rothfenne in Wiltshire, with divers other lands. Dated in June.

To Christopher Perne.

A letter to to assent to the gift of the King of the square tower adjoining to the cathedral church there, with the bells, and other things thereto belonging, to Christopher Perne. Dated as before.

For John Rogers.

A presentation to the Bishop of London, to admit John Rogers in the cathedral church of Paul's, London. Dated as before. [To be reader there.]

CHAP. XXXIII.

A catalogue of King Edward's free grammar schools. More private matters concerning the King's household.

THE next rank of things collected from the foresaid manuscripts is of

VI. *Schools founded by the King.*

1550.

St. Edmund's Bury.

A grant of a free grammar school at St. Edmund's Bury in Suffolk, liberally endowed with several lands of dissolved chantries. Bearing date an. 4°. Regis.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Anno 1552.

At Spillesby.

A grant of a grammar school at Spillesby in Lincolnshire, and for Robert Latham the first schoolmaster thereof, for life: who shall have succession for ever, and be incorporated by the name of *pædagogus pædagogiæ de Spillesby* of the King's foundation; and that he and his successors shall be able to take and purchase, and to give and grant lands and tenements, &c. and to plead and be impleaded by that name: and that the said Latham and his successors shall have the parsonage of Spillesby for their mansion and the school-house, with three acres and an half of land there belonging to it, an annuity of 13*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* out of the King's lands in Spillesby, payable quarterly. With a grant in it, that Katharine Duchess of Suffolk, and 536
Charles Brandon, and either of them, their heirs and assigns, shall have as well the nomination and appointment of the schoolmaster of the said school, as the visitation and reformation of the same. Dated in November 1550.

At Chelmsford.

A grant that there shall be a free grammar school in the parish of Chelmsford in Essex: whereof Sir William Petre, Walter Mildmay, Henry Tirrel, knts. and Thomas Mildmay, esq. and the males of their bodies begotten, shall have the governance of all the possessions and goods, with a gift of all the chantry, called *Hill's chantry*, with the appurtenances, in Great Badow, in the said county; to the said governors and their successors for ever: with divers other lands and tenements, to the yearly value of 20*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* besides 40*s.* yearly paid to the poor people of Badow aforesaid. Paying yearly therefore at Michaelmas 17*s.* 10*d.* at the augmentation: and authority given to the said governors to appoint the schoolmaster and usher thereof, and to provide other necessaries for the said school, and to take the profits of the said lands; with a licence to purchase of the King, or otherwise, lands, tenements, rectories, tenths, &c. to the yearly value of 20*l.* besides the premises. Dated in March.

1551.

At Sedbergh.

A grant unto the inhabitants of the town of Sedbergh in the county of York, that there shall be erected a free grammar school in Sedbergh, to be called *King Edward the*

BOOK II.

Anno 1551.

Sixth's grammar school: and that James Ducket, Richard Middleton, &c. be governors of the same. With a further grant unto the said inhabitants, and their successors, towards the sustentation of the said school, of the parsonage of Weston in the county of York, with divers other lands, to the yearly value of 20*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* Dated in April.

At Louth.

A grant to the inhabitants of the town of Loth, [Louth,] and their successors, that there shall be a free grammar school there, called *King Edward's free grammar school;* and one guardian, and six assistants, of the same town, one schoolmaster, one usher; with a gift for the sustentation of the same, of sixty-seven acres of land in Louth in Lincolnshire; with divers other lands, &c. to the yearly value of 40*l.* Dated in September.

At Salop.

A grant to the bailiff, burgesses, and inhabitants of the town of Salop, that there shall be a free grammar school, and one master and usher to teach children. For the sustentation whereof, the King gave them, and their successors, for ever, all the tithes coming and growing of the towns, fields, and parishes of Astley, Sensaw, Cliff-Letton, and Almon park, in the county of Salop. Dated in November. [But the patent sealed in February following.]

At East Retford.

A grant to the bailiff and burgesses of the town of East Retford in the county of Nottingham, that there shall be a grammar school there, which shall be called *King Edward's free grammar school,* and a schoolmaster and usher. To the sustentation whereof he gave the late chantry of Sutton Loundale, in the parish of Lounde, in the said county; to the yearly value of 15*l.* 5*s.* 3¼*d.* Dated in November.

At Brymingham.

A free grammar school erected by the King at Brymingham [alias Bromycham] in the county of Warwick, called *King Edward the Sixth's free grammar school,* with a
537 schoolmaster and usher. For the sustentation whereof he gave all that his barn and four messuages lying in Dalend in Brimingham in the said county; to the value of 21*l.* per ann. rendering to the King, and his successors, 20*s.* yearly, at the augmentations.

At Morpeth.

A patent, bearing date March 13, at the request of the

and Dacres, granted to the bailiff and burgesses of Morpeth in Northumberland, for the erecting of a school there, a schoolmaster, and usher; with a gift of two chantries in Morpeth, with divers other lands, &c. yearly value 20*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* and a licence of mortmain to purchase 20*l.* by the year for maintenance thereof. Anno 1551.

Likewise the next year, *viz.* 1552, were erected grammar schools at Macclesfield, at Non-Eton, at Stourbridge in Worcestershire. This last by the grant to be called *King Edward's school*, and had a gift of all the yearly pensions and portions of tithes of Markley and Suckley in the same county; and divers other lands. Likewise there were other schools of his founding, the same year, at Bath and Bedford, and at Guilford. And in the last year of the King, *viz.* 1553, other schools, *viz.* at Grantham, at Thorne, and at Giggleswick. The foundations and endowments of all which abovementioned are shewn in the Catalogue of Records, book 2, at the letter I. And besides all those, yet other more are these that follow, not mentioned there. 1552. At Macclesfield, &c. 1553.

A grant for the establishing of the corporation of the town of St. Alban's in the county of Hertford, with certain liberties therein mentioned; and for the erection of a free grammar school there; with a grant of the late abbey church to be their parish church. Dated in April. At St. Alban's.

A grant to Sir Andrew Jud, knt. and alderman of London, that there shall be a free grammar school in Tunbridge in Kent, called *King Edward the Sixth's free grammar school*, with a schoolmaster and usher; with a licence to the said Andrew Jud to take lands and possessions for the sustentation of the same school. Dated in April. At Tunbridge.

A free grammar school granted to the mayor and burgesses of Southampton, with a schoolmaster and usher; and with a licence to take land to the yearly value of 40*l.* Dated in May. At Southampton.

A grant to the burgesses of Stratford-upon-Avon of a free grammar school and almshouse; with a gift of certain lands, to the value yearly of 46*l.* 3*s.* 2½*d.* Dated in June. And this was the last this Prince founded. At Stratford.

BOOK II.

Anno 1553. Schools endowed with chantry lands: and why.

We may note, that the endowments of these schools were for the most part out of the chantry lands, given to the King in the first of his reign, according to the intent of the Parliament therein: which was, to convert them from superstitious uses unto more godly, as in erecting grammar schools for the education of youth in virtue and godliness, for further augmenting the universities, and better provision for the poor. And the King was so honest and just, to lay them out in a very considerable measure for these good ends intended.

The last things we are to give account of from our manuscripts, are a few matters relating to the King's household and servants; which, though of a private nature, yet may be well worthy our notice.

538 VII. *Matters of the household.*

1550. Coats for the King's footmen.

A warrant to Sir Rafe Sadler, knt. [belonging to the wardrobe,] to deliver to John Ventrice, Roger Newport, Edward Broughtel, and Humphrey Colley, the King's Majesty's footmen, and to every of them, two yards and an half of crimson velvet for a running coat, and to pay for the lining and making thereof. Dated in October 1550.

A warrant to Sir Edmund Peckham, knt. [treasurer, as I think, of the chamber,] to pay unto every one of the said four footmen, for twenty-six ounces of silver parcel gilt, at 8*d.* [8*s.* perhaps] the ounce, about their running coats, for the third year of the King's reign. Dated as before.

Licence to the King's factor for his wardrobe.

Bartholomew Compagni, a Florentine, the King's factor: a licence to him, his factors, and attorneys, appointed for provision of such things as be brought into the realm, as followeth; that is to say, all manner of cloth of gold and silver, all manner of silks and velvets, damasks, satins, taffetas, and sarcenets; all manner of works of Venice gold and silver, damask gold and silver, and of silk, as passemain, fringe, riband, and such other work, all gold and silver, both Venice and damask; all manner of gold work, plate and silver vessels, jewels, pearls, precious stones, as well set in gold, and embroidered in garments, as otherwise; all

manner of garments embroidered with gold and silver, CHAP. XXXIII.
[illegible] and furs, sables and lusards, cloths of tapestry and [illegible], mixed with gold, silver, or silk, and all other things Anno 1550.
[illegible] for the King's Majesty's use and purpose; without any manner of opening before it be brought to the port of London, and there viewed and praised by the King's officers thereunto admitted. Dated in October.

A warrant to Sir Rafe Sadler, to deliver to Robert Bas- For the King's chapel.
[illegible], sergeant of the vestry, threescore and two surplices, for the gentlemen of the chapel; two surplices with wrought work for the sub-dean of the chapel; four-and-twenty surplices for the children of the chapel; for the table in the chapel three cloths; two tablecloths for the body of the chapel; four diaper napkins for the communion; six albs for the minister, deacon, and sub-deacon; two hundred hooks, one hammer, a pair of pinsons, a little pot, and a guispin, a pair of tin cruets, three yards of green cloth to lay the stuff upon. Dated in November.

A warrant to Sir Rafe Sadler, to deliver to the officers of 1551. Coats for the kings at arms, &c.
arms, that is to say, to the three kings of arms, three coats of satin, painted with gold; to five heralds, five of damask, painted with gold; and to eight pursuivants, eight of sarcenet, painted with gold. Dated in February.

A commission to Philip Van Wilder, gentleman of the Singing children for the King's use.
privy chamber, in any churches or chapels, or other places within England, to take to the King's use such and as many singing children or choristers, as he or his deputy shall think good. Dated in February.

A warrant to Sir Rafe Sadler, to deliver to Mr. Cecyl For the King's maundy.
and Mr. Robotham, yeomen of the robes, all things as hath been accustomed for the King's maundy, for the fifth year of his reign. [When he was to wash the poor men's feet.] Dated as above.

To Sir George Howard, for his office of master 539
of the benchmen for one whole year. He was appointed to Master of the benchmen.
attend upon the young lords sent over the sea as hostages; whereof the Earl of Hertford was one. Dated in March.

BOOK II.

Anno 1551.

Spangles for livery coats.

A warrant to the Exchequer, to deliver to Peter Richardson, goldsmith, 600*l.* prest, to be employed in fine silver, to make spangles for the livery coats of the guard, the yeomen of the Tower of London, the footmen and messengers of the chamber, for the fifth year of the King's reign. Dated in May.

Crimson velvet for the Lord Clinton of the order.

A warrant to Sir Rafe Sadler, to deliver to Edward Lord Clinton, lord admiral, which is now elect and chosen to be of the right honourable order of the Garter, for his livery of the same order, eighteen yards of crimson velvet, for one gown, hood, and tippet, and ten yards of white sarcenet for the lining of the same. Dated in May.

A child of the leash.

A warrant to Sir William Cavendish, to pay to John Wheeler, whom the King hath taken into the room of child of the leash, the wages of 40*s.* by year, during his life, from the death of Richard Bolton. Dated in September.

His apparel.

A warrant to Sir Rafe Sadler, to deliver to the said John Wheeler yearly, during his life, these parcels following; first, eight yards of motley for a coat, at 3*s.* 4*d.* the yard, and for the making of the same coat 14*s.* six yards of chamlet for two doublets, at 3*s.* 4*d.* the yard; six yards of fustian, at 8*d.* the yard, for lining to the same; two yards of canvas to line the same, at 8*d.* the yard; for making his said doublets, 16*d.* apiece: six yards of fustian, at 12*d.* the yard, for two doublets; and four yards of cotton, at 8*d.* the yard, and two yards of canvas, at 4*d.* the yard, for lining the same; for making the same, 2*s.* eighteen ells of Holland cloth for six shirts, at 12*d.* the ell; and for making every shirt, 8*d.* four yards of broad cloth for a gown, at 5*s.* the yard: a fur of black Irish lamb, price 30*s.* for furring and making of the same, 3*s.* 6*d.* three broad yards of red woollen cloth for a coat, &c. Dated as before.

Wages paid to the lieutenant of the Tower.

A warrant to Sir William Cavendish, to pay Sir Anthony Darcy his fee or wages of 100*l.* by year, for exercising the room of lieutenant of the Tower of London. Dated in December.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Anno 1551.

A warrant to Sir William Cavendish, to pay to Philip Van Wilder yearly, the allowance of 80*l.* for the finding of the singing children of the chamber. Dated as before.

Singing children of the chamber.

A warrant to Sir Rafe Sadler, to deliver to Richard Cecyl and Robert Robotham, yeomen of the robes, fifteen gowns of grey marble cloth, fifteen pair of single-soled shoes, and forty-five ells of linen cloth, to be given to fifteen poor men on Maundy Thursday.

1552. For fifteen poor men at the maundy.

A warrant to Richard Cecyl, esq. to deliver to the Earl of Shrewsbury one of the King's canes, having a dial of gold on the top, and garnished with gold; and having at the end a viral [ferula] of gold; as of the King's gift. Dated in April.

A cane for the Earl of Shrewsbury.

Richard Gowre, master of the children of the King's chapel; a letter to him, to take up, from time to time, as many children to serve in the chapel as he should think fit. Dated in June.

Master of the children of the King's chapel.

The office of child of the leash to John Strete, for life. 540 [There was one Strete, the King's limner; this John Strete might be his son.] With the wages of 40*s.* by year, to be paid by the treasurer of the chamber quarterly. And a warrant to Sir Rafe Sadler, to deliver yearly to the said John Strete certain stuff for his apparel, with allowance for making. Dated in December.

A child of the leash.

A warrant to Sir Andrew Dudley, to deliver to Robert Robotham, yeoman of the robes, to keep for the King one fur of black genets, taken out of a gown of purple cloth of silver tissue; another fur of black genets, taken out of a purple gown of silver with works And to the Lord Chamberlain a gown of crimson satin, embroidered with gold, and furred with black genets. To Sir Richard Cotton a crimson satin gown, furred with squirrels, and faced with sables, and ten yards of black: and to himself a gown of dark crimson velvet, furred with aglets, and buttons thereto appertaining. And to Sir Thomas Wroth ten yards of black velvet, which he won of the King. Dated in December.

Warrant to the yeoman of the robes.

A warrant to the Lord Treasurer, to deliver to Sir Andrew Dudley one collar of gold of the order of the Garter, remaining in his charge, containing twenty-seven roses of

A collar of the order.

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

gold enamelled red, with the garter about them enamelled blue, and *Honi soit qui mal y pense* in it: and also twenty-seven knots of gold enamelled, with a fair George pendant with three very little short chains at it, set with five table diamonds, and five pointed diamonds enamelled black on the backside. Dated in December.

To the embroiderer.

A warrant to the receiver of the duchy of Lancaster, to pay to Ibgrave, embroiderer, for embroidering one hundred and nine coats for the guard, and for four messengers of the chamber, for the seventh year of the King's reign, 41*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* Dated in March.

To another embroiderer.

A like warrant to him to pay Gillan Brodlet, for embroidering one hundred and twenty-two coats, 46*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* Dated as before.

For spangles.

A like warrant to him to pay Peter Richardson in prest, to be employed upon spangles, 600*l.* Dated as before.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

A REPOSITORY

OF

DIVERS LETTERS,

AND

OTHER CHOICE MONUMENTS,

FROM AUTHENTIC MSS.

TO WHICH

REFERENCE IS MADE IN THE FOREGOING HISTORY.

A

REPOSITORY

OF

DIVERS LETTERS, &c.

A.

The ceremonies and funeral solemnities paid to the corpse of King Henry VIII.

AFTER the corps was cold, and seen by the Lords of the Privy Council, and others the nobility of the realm, as appertained, commandment was given to the apothecaries, chirurgeons, wax-chandlers and others, to do their duties in spurging, cleansing, bowelling, cering, embalming, furnishing, and dressing with spices the said corps; and also for wrapping the same in cerecloth of many folds over the fine cloth of rains and velvet, surely bound and trammel'd with cords of silk: which was done and executed of them accordingly, as to the dignity of such a mighty Prince it appertaineth: and a writing in great and small letters annexed against the breast, containing his name and style, the day and year of his death, in like manner. After this don, then was the plummer and carpenter appointed to case him in lead, and to chest him. Which being don, the said chest was covered about with blew velvet, and a cross set upon the same. Ex Offic. Armor. I. 11.

And the corps being thus ordained, the entrails and bowels were honorably buried in the chappel within the said place, with all manner of ceremonies thereunto belonging; don by the dean and ministers of the same chappel.

Then was the corps in the chest had into the midds of the privy chamber, and set upon tressels with a rich pall of cloth of gold, and a cross thereon, with all manner of lights

therto requisite; having divine service about him with masses, obsequies, and prayers; and continual watch made by his chaplains and gentlemen of his privy chamber, to the number of thirty persons, besides the chaplains, continually about him, in their orders and courses night and day, during the time of his abode there, which was five days. And in the mean time, all things in the chappel, and for preparing of his herse in the same, were continually a doing, as hereafter shal be declared.

First, The chambers, galleries, hal, chappel, and al other necessary places, were hanged with black, and garnished with escutcheons of his armes, descents, and mariages.

In the said chappel was ordained a goodly formal herse, with fourscore square tapers; every light containing two foot in length, paising in the whole eighteen hundred weight
S. 14. p. 63. of wax; [another account saith, by estimation, two thousand;] garnished about with pensils and escutcheons, banners and bannerols of descents. And at the four corners four banners of saints beaten in fine gold upon damask;
4 with a majesty therover of rich cloth of tissue, and vallance of black silk, and fringe of black silk and gold. And the barriers without the herse, and the sides and floor of the said chappel, covered with black cloth, to the high altar: and all the sides and ceiling of the said chappel set with banners and standards of St. George and others.

And at the foot, where the corps should be reposed within the herse, stood an altar covered with black velvet, adorned with al manner of plate and jewels of the revestry: upon which altar there was said mas continually during the time that the corps was there remaining. And the high altar very richly adorned with plate and jewels, and other ornaments.

And in the mean time commandment was given to al manner of states, as wel noble men and women, to whom it appertained, as to al of them of the King's house, to put apart their several apparels, and put on them every man his mourning weeds. And warrants directed out to the great wardrobe, for the serving of them, every man and woman after the rate and proportion appointed to their degrees: to

the intent they might give their attendance in such kind of service as to them should be appointed: which was accomplished of every man against the day the corps should be removed.

The names of the mourners appointed to give their attendance upon the said corps, as wel at the herse as in the removing therof from place to place, hereafter follow.

CHIEF MOURNER.

Henry Gray, Lord Marques of Dorset.

TWELVE MOURNERS.

Lord St. Johns, lord president of the council.
Henry Fitz Alleyn, Earl of Arundel, lord chamberlain.
John Vere, Earl of Oxford.
Fran. Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.
Edw. Stanley, Earl of Derby.
Hen. Ratclyff, Earl of Sussex.
Henry Parker, Lord Morley.
William Dacre, Lord Dacre of the north.
Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers.
Edw. Fyenns, Lord Clinton.
Edward Gray, Lord Gray.
John Scrope, Lord Scrope.

These noblemen prepared themselves in their mourning habits, as hoods, mantles, gowns, and al other apparels, according to their degrees; and were in good order and readiness at the Court, to give their attendance when they should be called.

The names of the bishops and prelates appointed as well for the executing and ministring divine service in the chappel, as also to attend upon the conduct of the said corps when it shall be removed.

Steven Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, chief prelate.
Cutbert Tunstal, bishop of Durham.
Edmund Boner, bishop of London.
Th. Goodrich, bishop of Ely.
William Barlow, bishop of St. Davids. 5
Henry Holbeach, bishop of Rochester.
John Wakeman, bishop of Glocester.
Arthur Bulkley, bishop of Bangor.
Paul Bush, bishop of Bristow.

Whereof the Bishop of Winchester was appointed to make the sermon; and being chief prelate of the order, to execute.

These, with al other chaplains and men of the church, were commanded to be ready in their *pontificalibus*, and others for the execution of divine service at the time appointed, as followeth:

The second day of the month of February, being Wednesday, and Candlemas day, betwixt eight and nine of the clock at night, the herse being lighted, and all other things appointed and prepared, the said most royal corps was reverendly taken and removed from the chambers, covered with a rich pall of cloth of tissue, crossed with white tissue, and garnished with escutcheons of his arms; and so brought to the chapel by the lord great master, the officers of household, gentlemen of the privy chamber, esquires for the body, and other noblemen and gentlemen, both spiritual and temporal; placed in their degrees, and going before the corps, and after, with lights meet for the same. And there it was honorably set and placed within the said herse, under a pall of rich cloth of tissue, garnished with escutcheons, and a rich cloth of gold set with precious stones theron.

And the corps being so reposed in the herse, the dean of the chappel, with all other chaplains and ministers therof fel to their oraisons and suffrages.

After that, the gentlemen ushers, with officers of arms, and others therto appointed, began their watch in due course and order, as to them appertained, for that night; which order was also kept and continued honorably night and day, during the said corps there being, with al divine service meet and convenient for the same.

So the morrow after, being Thursday, the 3d of February, between nine and ten before noon, the mourners assembled themselves in the pallet chamber, in their mourning apparel, with their hoods on their heads: and from thence were conveyed to chappel in form following; that is to say, two and two in order after their degrees, next to the chief; and then the chief mourner with his train born after him, conducted with officers of arms, and gentlemen ushers, the

vice-chamberlain and divers others following them, after their degrees: and so proceded til they came to the herse, where they were placed, and kneeled about the corps on either side, as they proceded; and the chief mourners at the head.

Then Norroy king of arms, standing at the quire door, with his face to the people, said with a loud voice, "Of "your charity pray for the soul of the high and most mighty "Prince, our late Sovereign Lord and King Henry VIII." Which he did daily at the beginning of al masses and *dirges*. Then from the vestry of the said chappel came out 6
three bishops in *pontificalibus*, and began the *requiem* mass at the high altar, the chappel singing and saying the ceremonies therto appertaining, in most solempn and goodly wise, to the offertory.

Then was a carpet and quission laid by the gentlemen and yeomen huishers, for the chief mourner; who immediately came up to the offering, with the rest following after him in order two and two, as aforesaid, conducted by officers at arms, and gentlemen huishers. Then the chief mourner, receiving the offering of the Lord Chamberlain, did offer the same, assisted with al the rest, and none other offering but he: and so returned in like order, leaving the corps on the right hand, and placed themselves as they were before, within the herse. And after the mas was ended, the prelates that executed came from the altar down to the herse; and they censed the said corps with al maner of ceremonies therto appertaining: and that don, they returned to the vestry. And the mourners departed, conducted in order, as aforesaid, to the chamber of presence; where was prepared for them a sumptuous dinner; and the chief mourner served with assays, and al other service, saving the estate, as if it had been the Kings Majesty personally present.

When the divine service was don, every man drew himself to his lodging til afternoon at the hour appointed. And then they repaired again to the said chamber, from whence they were had and conducted in like maner to the chappel,

and placed about the corps, kneeling within the herse, as afore is mentioned. Then Norroy king at arms came out and proclaimed his style, bidding the prayers; and with that, the prelates before named began the *placebo* and *dirige*. And at every lesson Norroy went out, and bad the bede.

Thus the aforesaid prelates, with the dean and chapter, continued in al maner of service and ceremonies, *dirigies* and masses, censings, watching, saying of psalters, and al other rites and duties, as wel in the forenoon as after, by night and by day during the abode of the corps within the chappel; which was twelve days. In the mean time the herses at Sion and Windsor, and al other kinds of preparation, were doing; which was set forth as hereafter followeth.

First, the church of Sion, and the choir, with the house, chambers, and lodgings, where the ambassadors and nobles should repair, were hung to the ground with black cloth, and garnished with escotcheons of the Kings armes in the garter and mariages. In the midst of the choir there was ordained a royal and stately herse of nine principals with double stories, and a costly majesty, a vallance fringed with black silk and gold, and hatchments garnished over al with pencils, escotcheons of armes, bannerols of descents; and about the same double barriers hanged with black cloth, escotcheons; and the floor of the same herse covered with black cloth to the high altar: which was al covered with black velvet, and preciously adorned with al maner of plate
7 and jewels of the church, silver, gold, and precious stones, in the best wise. And the said herse continued with al sorts of lights in great number.

And at Windsor, the ways of passage from the castle-bridge to the west door of the colledg were railed on both sides the way, and hanged with black cloth to the ground with escotcheons of arms and mariages: and so were the lodgings of the ambassadors and nobles within the castle; and al the church peramble, and the choir of the college hung and garnished as aforesaid: and the whole floor of

the choir was spread with black cloth. And the herse standing in the midst of the said choir was of a wonderful state and proportion; that is to say, formed in compas of eight panes, and thirteen principals, double storied, of thirty-five foot high, curiously wrot, painted, and gilded, having in it a wonderful sort of lights, amounting in price of wax to the sum of four thousand pound weight, and garnished underneath with a rich majesty, and a doome double vallanced: on the which on either side was written the Kings word in beaten gold upon silk, and his armes of descents. And the whole herse was richly fringed with double fringes of black silk and gold on either side, both within and without, very gorgous, and valiant beheld.

And above, over al the herse among the lights, it was set and garnished with pensils, scutcheons of arms and mariages, with hatchments of silk and gold, and divers bannerols of descents, depending in goodly order round about the herse. Also the double barriers of the said herse were hanged with black cloth, and set with escotcheons of the Kings armes, and al the floor overspread with black cloth to the high altar: which altar was hanged with cloth of gold, and adorned with all the precious jewels of the church, as candlesticks, crosses, basins, censers, shipes, and images of gold and silver in great abundance. And another altar set at the foot where the corps should ly within the herse, covered with black velvet, hanged also with the richest ornaments and plate, that in the best form and order might be devised.

Now while these things were in hand, and continually working by artificers and others therto appointed, there was ordained for the corps a sumptuous and valuable chariot of four wheels, very long and large, with four pillars overlaid al with cloth of gold at the four corners, bearing a pillow of rich cloth of gold and tissue, fringed with a goodly deep fringe of blew silk and gold: and underneath that, turned towards the chariot, was a marvellous excellent cloth of majesty, having in it a doom artificially wrought in fine gold upon oyl. And al the nether part of the said chariot was

hanged with blew velvet down to the ground between the wheels, and al other parts of the chariot enclosed in like maner with blew velvet.

Forthwith were al other necessary things for the conduct of the said noble corps with al speed devised and set forth, to be ready at the day the same should be removed.

There was also order taken for the clearing and mending of all the high ways between Westminster and Windsor, whereas the corps should pas; and the noisome boughs
8 cut down of every side the way, for prejudiceing of the standards, banners, and bannerols. And where the ways were narrow, there were hedges opened on either side, so as the footmen might have free passage, without tarrying or disturbing of their orders.

Item, My Lord of Worcester, the Kings almoner, with other his ministers and assistants, did dayly distribute to the poor people, as wel about the Kings house at Westminster, as at Leadenhal in London, and divers other places, great plenty of mony in almesdeeds, both in open doles, and by way of proclamation; and especially in the wards of London, wheras need was, to the great relief and comfort of the poor people.

There was also two carts laden with hatches and escotcheons of armes delivered to the said almoner, to distribute them, with certain mony, to the parishes along the way: which carts went forth before the removing with the almoners deputies, and delivered the same to the curats and clerks of the churches here ensuing:

Charing-cross.	Fulham.	Acton.
St. Margaret at Westminster.	Kensington.	Yerling.
	S. Martin.	Branforth.
St. Giles in the Fields.	Cheswick.	Hanwel.
Chelsith.	Hammersmith.	New Branforth.
Norwood.	Stough.	Syon.
Thwykenham.	Graiford.	Thistleworth.
Hownslow.	Harlington.	Hillington.
Northal.	Stanwel.	Shewer.
Bedford.	Eton.	Iver.

Colbrooke.	Shipston.	Langley.
Heston.	Docket.	Farnham.
Stanes.	Hais.	Windsor.
Knightsbridg.	Drayton.	Windsor college.

The curats and clerks of these churches had torches and escotcheons and money delivered them by the Kings almoners. And when the corps was coming, they stood in the way in their best ornaments, and honorably received the same, bidding their oraisons and prayers as appertained, and devoutly censed the corps as it proceeded. Which order was kept al the long way between Westminster and Windsor, ever as the corps removed.

These and other things requisite to the removing in maner afore declared, ordained, and provided, on Sunday morning the 13 day of February, at the high altar of the chappel, where the corps remained, there were sung three solemn masses by bishops in *pontificalibus* in sundry suits. The first of our Lady, in white: the second of the Trinity, in blew: the third of *requiem*, by the right reverend the Bishop of Winchester, in black. And at every mas two bishops mitred to minister therto, as epistolar and gospeller. When the chief mourner, with al the rest of the lords mourners were set and kneeled within the herse, the chappel and al the people keeping silence, Norroy king at armes began the bedes in form before expressed. And the choir began the office of the first mas; and so proceded solemnly 9
with the prelates executing to the offertory of the mas of *requiem*. Then the chief mourner, accompanied with al the rest of the mourners, offered for them al. So the mas proceded to the end. The mas don, the prelats as aforesaid censed the corps, the chappel singing *Libera me, Domine.* That don, they went into the revestry again. Immediately the mourners, with al other prelats, drew to the chamber of presence to dinner, as is aforesaid.

That same day was proclamation made, that al men allowed black liveries of the King should give attendance the next day at five of the clock, at Charing-cross, for the con-

duct of the said corps to Syon that night. *Item*, That al such as had cariage of their masters should go before for troubling the passage of the said corps in the way.

After dinner they withdrew to their chambers, and resorted to the chappel in due time, as is aforesaid: where was *dirige* with censing of the corps, al suffrages and duties therto appertaining. That done, they went to supper. But there was solemn watch about the corps, with continual prayer and lights al that night.

The next day early, [the 14 February,] the chariot was brought to the court hal door; and the corps with great reverence brought from the herse to the same by mitred prelats, and other temporal lords. In this wise went the bishops two and two in order, saying their prayers, torches plenty on every side the corps, born by sixteen yeomen of the guard under a rich canopy of blew velvet fringed with silk and gold, which was holden up with six blew staves and knops of gold; the six staves were born by six barons; *viz.* the Lords Burgaveny, Conyers, Latymer, Fitzwater, Bray, and Cromwel: which lords executed the said office as oft as the said corps was removed to and fro the choir. Then followed the chief mourner and the rest of the lords mourners in order, with torches light, born on every side in great numbers: and so was it reverently setled in the bulk of the chariot. Over the coffin of the said chair was cast a pall of rich cloth of gold, and upon that a goodly image like to the Kings person in al points, wonderful richly apparelled, with velvet, gold, and precious stones of al sorts; holding in his right hand a scepter of gold; in his left hand the bal of the world with a cross. Upon his head a crown imperial of inestimable value, a collar of the Garter about his neck, and a garter of gold about his leg. Which thus being honorably conducted as aforesaid, was laid upon the said coffin by the gentlemen of his privy chamber upon rich cushions of cloth of gold, and fast bound with silk ribbands to the pillars of the said chariot, for removing. Then were set at the head and feet of the said corps, Sir Anthony Denny and Sir

William Herbert, two of the chief of his privy chamber; which kept their rooms, and were caried in the chariot with the corps.

The chariot with the corps and representation so disposed, was garnished about with fourteen bannerols of marriages and descents; that is to say, six at either side, and at each end one. And so it rested there with a great number of torches burning on either side, with certain noblemen and gentlemen attending theron, by the space of two hours, til the horses and al other things necessary were seen and set forward. So about eight of the clock, the weather being very fair, and the people very desirous to see the sights, the nobles mounted their horses, and marched forward with the noble corps.

First of al rode two porters of the Kings house [named John Herd and Thomas Mervyn] with two black staves in their hands, to stay, that neither cart, horse, nor man should trouble or cumber them in this passage: then came the sergeant of the vestry with his verger, and after him the cros, with the children, clarks, and priests of the chappel with their surplices on their backs, singing in order their oraisons and prayers. On each side of them, from the cross to the dean, went the number of two hundred and fifty poor men in long mourning gowns and hoods, with badges on their left shoulders, the red and white cross in a sun shining, crown imperial over that. In each of their hands a large torch burning. And on each hand of them went two carts laden with torches, to restore them always as the old wasted.

Then proceded Thomas A Bruges, esq. bearing the Dragon standard; and on each side of him a sergeant at armes with his mace.

Next, al maner of messagers, ambassadors servants, being gentlemen, trumpets without instruments, gentile strangers, chaplains without dignity, esquires, head-officers of household not being knights, in their degrees, the better the neerer the corps, and pursevants at arms riding continually up and down between the standards, to stay them, keep their order.

Then the standard of the Greyhound, born by Sir Nicolas Sturley, kt. On each side of him another sergeant as aforesaid. Next the standard followed the aldermen of London, to the number of twelve. After them knights bannerets, chaplains of dignity, the Kings head officers, being knights, and other notable strangers, and two heralds, and other officers, riding from standard to standard, to conduct them.

Then came the standard of the Lion, born by the Lord Winsor, hooded, and trapped as the other aforesaid. And on each side of him a sergeant at armes with his mace. Under the standard al the Kings council of the law followed, and others, not being of the Privy Council, after their degrees, two and two in order. Then al lords or barons, viscounts, earls, and bishops, after their degrees, two and two in order, then the lords of the council in their places two and two. Then came al noble strangers, ambassadors of divers kingdoms, nations, and towns, accompanied with such of the lords as best could entertain them, and understand their language. Then the ambassador of the Emperor, and with him the Archbishop of Canterbury; and four heralds riding about to see them keep order.

Then came the banner of the Kings armes embroidered, born by the Lord Talbot, with his hood on, and his horse garnished and trapped. After him Carlile herald of armes, bearing the helm and the crest of the Kings horse trapped
11 and garnished. Then Norroy king at armes bare the targe alone in like maner. Next, Clarentieux king at armes bare the sword. Then Garter principal king of armes bare the Kings rich coat of armes curiously embroidered. And on each side of these, hatchments, sergeants of armes riding with their maces.

Then the twelve banners of descents were born, two in order, as followeth. First, a banner of the Kings and Q. Janes's armes, born by Geo. Harper, esq. Secondly, a banner of the Kings and Q. Katharins armes born by Leonard Chamberlain, esq. Thirdly, a banner of Richmond and Holland, by Sir William Barrington, kt. Fourthly, a ban-

[illegible] of March and Ulster, by Sir Edward Willoughby. Fifthly, a banner of Somerset and Beauchamp, by Sir Philip Dragot, kt. Sixthly, a banner of Somerset and Richmond, by Sir Nicolas Ponyngs, kt. Seventhly, a banner of York with the mariage, by Sir Fulk Grevyl, kt. Eighthly, a banner of King Edward IV. and his mariage, by Sir John Harcote, kt. Ninthly, a banner of King Henry VII. and his mariage, by Sir Anthony Hungerford, kt. Tenthly, a banner of S. Edmonds armes, by Sir George Blount, kt. Eleventhly, a banner of S. Edwards armes, by Edward Littleton, esq. Twelthly, a banner of Lancaster, with the mariage, by Sir John Markham, kt.

These banners went before the chariot one against another, as they be rehersed. And at the four corners of the said chariot went four worthy knights, with four banners of four saints, as after followeth: *viz.* a banner of S. Edward, by Sir Thomas Clere, kt. A banner of King Henry the Saint, by Sir William Woodhouse, kt. At the two hinder corners, a banner of the Trinity, born by Sir Michael Lylster; the other of our Lady, by Sir Francis Dautre, kt.

Then came the chair with the corps thereon, and the representation before described, in the most noble wise that could be devised, with grooms, pages, from the first horse head to the mourners, on either side going on foot with the staff torches brenning about the chair, to the number of sixty or more: the chair drawn by seven great horses wholly trapped in black velvet down to the pasterns, and garnished with escotcheons of the Kings armes; and on their fronts shaffrons of armes: upon the seven horses rode seven children of honer al in black, with their hoods on their heads; and in their hands either of them holding a bannerole of the Kings dominions, and the antient armes of England, led by seven persons in mourning apparel.

On either side of the said chariot rode six assistants to the same, hooded, their horses trapped in black to the ground, bearing nothing in their hands; *viz.* Sir Thomas Hennage, Sir Thomas Paston, Sir Thomas S———, [Sea-

mour perhaps,] Sir John Gates, Sir Thomas Darcy, Sir Maurice Barkley.

Next to the chariot came the chief mourner alone, his horse trapped al in black velvet. After him followed the other twelve mourners, two and two, the horses trapped to the ground. Next the mourners, the Kings Chamberlain with his staff, and his hood on his shoulder, as a chief officer, and no mourner. Next to them Sir Anthony Brown,
12 master of the Kings horse, bare-headed, his horse trapped to the ground. And he led the Kings spare horse trapped al in cloth of gold down to the ground.

Then followed nine henchmen in black, and hooded: their horses trapped to the ground, garnished with escotcheons of armes of England before the conquest, and shaffrons on their horses heads, holding in their hands bannerols of the same arms that their horses were trapped with; that is to say, the armes of

Brute,	Athelstane,	Edward Exile,
Belin,	Arthur,	S. Edward,
Kadwellader,	Edmond,	England alone without France.

The henchmens names were John Sourton, [Stourton perhaps,] Edward Ychingham, Thomas Le Strange, George Dennys, Richard Brown, Roger Armour, Thomas Brown, Richard Cotton, and Patrick Barnaby.

Then followed Sir Francis Brian, master of the henchmen, alone. After him Sir Anthony Wyngfield, captain of the guard, and al the guard in black, three and three on foot, bearing each one a halbard on his shoulder, with the point downward. After them al noblemens servants according to their degrees of their masters next after the corps.

Thus they marched forward in goodly order from the Court to Charing-cross, and so forth, to the great admiration of them that beheld it, which was an innumerable people.

So in time they came to Brainford; and shortly after to Syon: where a little before, the gentlemen, esquires, and

knights, aldermen of London, and divers other noblemen, did stay themselves on horseback, and furnished the way on either side in maner of a lane; til such time as the corps with the company afore and after the same were entred into the place of Syon: which was about two of the clock the same day afternoon: and so the chariot was rested afor the west door of the church of Syon. Immediately the herse was light, and tressels set for the corps to be set on. Then was the image of representation taken from the said chair, and carried under the canopy to the vestrey.

Forthwith in like maner the corps was brought by the bishops in *pontificalibus*, (the nobles and ambassadors on either side standing,) unto the place appointed under the said herse. Then was the corps covered with a pal of black velvet with a white cross, and the helm and crest at the head, the targe enclining therto. On the right hand wherof was set the sword, and the rich coat embroidered at the feet. On every side of the herse along the quire stood al the banners and standards that were born after the corps, as aforesaid; and the four banners of saints holden at the four corners, with many torches brenning on either side the quire, and the body of the church: and so rested a while, til the lords had shifted themselves, and were ready to come to further service.

After they had past an hour, the gentlemen and officers 13
of armes and others giving their attendance, the mourners were honorably brought to the church, every man in a long gown, in order according to his degree, with their hoods on their shoulders, save only the mourners, and officers at armes, which had them on their heads. So were the mourners placed in the herse as they were accustomed.

After the bedes bidden by Norroy king at armes at the quire door, the Bishop of London began the *dirige*, assisted with others in *pontificalibus*, and al the rest of the Kings chaplains following the same: and at every lesson the prayers were bade by the king of armes, as afore is mentioned.

The *dirige* and censings ended towards the corps, and al

other things therto appertaining, the mourners went in like order to the chamber of presence: from whence they departed every man to his lodging; where they had cheer abundantly, in al degrees: and great plenty of meat and drink distributed to al that came: and al men had supped by day-light, and then took them to rest. That night the Lord Great Master charged the watch about the corps, which was don with great reverence and devotion.

About three of the clock the next morning, every man prepared himself to await upon the mourners to the divine service. When they came to church, they took their places in the herse; and every man in his degree: where immediately were many masses both sung and said at many altars. Which don, and al the funeral ceremonies aforesaid, the said corps was bestowed in the chariot with like reverence as is before exprest. And the representation with the bannerols and other necessaries in the same maner set upon the chariot, without any thing diminished, added, or changed; and so remained without the church a while.

And after the lords had broken their fasts, every man mounted on horseback, and placed themselves in the same order as they were the day before: and about seven of the clock they marched forth from town to town: where they were received in procession with the priests and clarks of every parish on each side of the way, censing the corps, as the day before: and al the bells rung in every church against their coming. And so they proceded til they came to Eton.

Where along the churchyard wal were the Bishop of Carlile [the provost] in *pontificalibus*, and al the fellows and masters of the said church in their best ornaments and copes: and by them al the young children scholars of the college in their white surplices, bare-headed, holding in the one hand tapers, and in the other books, saying the seven psalms: and as the corps came by, kneeled and censed it, bidding their *de profundis*, and other prayers. And so the corps passed til it came to the town of Windsor.

Where at the bridg foot, the maior, and the most sub-

ssential men stood on the one side, and on the other, the priests and clarks: and by them the corps passed through to the castle-gate at one of the clock at afternoon the same day: where the Bishop of Winchester, with the said college of Windsor, received it, as the Bishop of Carlile and Eton 14
college. Which don, the said royal corps was brought to the west door of the said church. Then every man lighted from horse, and went in the order of their former proceedings into the body of the same church; where they stood on either side, attending the bringing up of the said corps into the herse.

In the mean time the said noble herse of thirteen principals was lighted. And then the representation and corps were honorably removed from the chair, with the canopy born by six lords aforesaid: and with al due solemnity and honour was placed and set within the said herse upon a vyce purposely made for the same. Under which vyce the place of the sepulture was before prepared. The corps being covered with a great pall of black velvet, white crossed with satin, and upon that another rich pall of cloth of tissue. The representation was laid upon the same, as afore is shewed. After certain prayers made, every man departed in due order to conduct the mourners to their lodgings in the castle. That don, they shifted themselves from their riding apparel, and came again in their gowns, and hoods on their shoulders, attending on the chief mourner, til the prelates and the quire were ready.

Then went they in order from the castle to the west door of the church in this maner. First, gentlemen, esquires, knights, bannerets, barons, viscounts, earls, ambassadors. Then the Archbishop of Canterbury. Then the mourners with their hoods on their heads, two and two, the chief mourner behind alone; with Garter after him in the Kings coat; and his train after him, born by the Vice-chamberlain: after him the guard, noblemens servants, and others, in order went into the church: where the mourners took their accustomed places under the herse.

At the high altar the Bishop of Winchester, chief prelat

of the order, and chief executor of divine service, with al the rest of the bishops, stood in *pontificalibus* on either side of the altar.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, with the other the Kings executors, placed themselves upon forms on either side the quire beneath the prelat.

The four saints banners were set at the four corners of the herse, in order as aforesaid. And at the feet of the herse, a little behind the altar, stood the L. Talbot with the embroidered banner; and before him the standard of the Lion: and on the right hand the Dragon, and on the left hand the Greyhound: and al other banners and bannerols placed accordingly; holden by persons appointed, during the time of al the divine service, with their hoods.

On the right hand of the high altar was another altar covered with black: whereupon was set al the hatchments, as helm, crest with mantle, sword, targe, and the Kings broidered coat of arms.

And in the Queens closet above stood the Queen, al the noblemen, ambassadors, with other notable strangers, to se the divine service, and the royal order of the funeralls.

Then began the prayers by Norroy king at armes at the quire door, with a loud voice, *Of your charity pray for the soul*, &c. Immediately the chief prelate began the *dirige*.
15 And at every lesson the said Norroy began the bedes aforesaid. When *dirige*, with al other service and solemnity, was don, every man departed to supper, in order, to the said castle, as they came from the church: and there they had very liberal and sumptuous fare. Supper don, every man departed to his lodging for that night. Then was the watch appointed about the corps as aforesaid.

On the next day, being Wednesday, the 16 day of February, at four of the clock in the morning, when lauds were made by the priests that watched, every man attended upon the mourners from the castle to the church, wher they had their accustomed order, and the bedes bidden.

Then the Bishop of Ely began the mass of the Trinity. His deacon and subdeacon were two bishops mitred. Which

mass solemnely sung in prick song descant, and organ playing, to the offertory. Then the chief mourner, assisted with the other mourners, and conducted with officers of armes, as aforesaid, offered a piece of gold for the mass, and so departed to their places again.

After that mass was ended, began another, which the Bishop of London did celebrate, and two other bishops in *pontificalibus* for deacon and subdeacon: sung in the same maner, with like ceremonies, at the offertory; and so to the end. By that time it was day, fast upon six of the clock, the mourners went in order to the Dean's place, where breakfast was prepared for them.

In the mean time al the knights of the Garter there present came in their mantles of their order, to their oblations, as they are bound to do by the religion. That don, they went into the vestrey, and put off their mantles, and went to the mourners to hast them to church.

Forthwith the mourners returned to their places. And al persons hasted together, and gave their attendance, with al the nobility and council in the quire: the Emperors ambassadors, and others of foreign nations stood aloft, and beheld the execution of this noble interrment. And after the prayer bidden, the mass of *requiem* began by the Bishop of Winchester, chief prelate, in *pontificalibus*, and the Bishops of London and Ely, deacon and subdeacon: which proceded unto the offertory. Then the Lord Marques, being chief mourner, assisted with the other twelve mourners, offered a piece of gold of ten shillings for the mas-peny; and then returned again to the head of the corps, within the herse on the right hand. Then the Earls of Arundel and Oxford, the two next chief mourners, received of Garter the Kings broidered coat of armes, and, conducted by him to the offering, with much humility and reverence offered the same to the Bishop: who delivered the same to Garter again; and he bare it, and laid it reverently upon the altar. The Earls of Derby and Shrewsbury, the next mourners, received of Clarentieux the Kings target of armes in the Garter, which was offered *ut supra*. Likewise the Earl

of Sussex and Rutland, the next mourners, received of Norroy the Kings sword, and offered it up in the same sort. The Earls of Shrewsbury and Darby again received of Carlile, the herald, the helm and crest, and used them as aforesaid. And with that the man of armes, which was Clydiock
16 Powlet, esq. came to the quire door upon his horse in complete harness, al save the head-piece, and a poleaxe in his hand, with the point downward. And there he alighted, and was received by the Lord Morley, and the Lord Dacres of the north: and was conducted by officers of armes to the offering: and there he offered the poleaxe to the Bishop with the head downward. And the Bishop turning it upward delivered it to an officer of armes, who bare it to the altar end. And then the man of armes was had unto the vestry, and there unarmed.

Then Richard Powlet, esq. with the gentlemen ushers, brought in the palls; which Garter received, and delivered to the chief mourner and others, standing in order as they were sorted in couples under the herse; the chief mourner last. To whom Garter delivered four rich palls of cloth of gold of bawdkin, and to every earl three, and every baron two. So came the fourth from either side the herse without the barriers to the corps feet; where Garter stood on one side, and Clarentieux on the other, &c. received the said palls in order, as they offered, and laid them at the foot of the said representation. The chief mourner offered last.

Then came in four gentlemen ushers to the head of the corps conducting the Emperors ambassadors, and the ambassadors of France, with the ambassadors of Scotland and Venice: and they offered. Then the chief mourner, with the other twelve mourners, without any estate, went up and offered for themselves.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, and al the rest of the Kings executors there present, offered, according to their estates and degrees. Then the treasurer, comptroler, and other head officers of the Kings house. And after them, al other noblemen and gentlemen came up and offered, as many as would.

Then was the pulpit set directly before the high altar, and the Bishop of Winchester began the sermon; whose theme was, *Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur.* Where he declared the frailty of man, and community of death to the high and to the low: and showing the pittiful and doloreus loss that al maner men had sustained by the death of so gracious a King. Yet he recomforted them again by the resurrection in the life to come: and exhorted them al to rejoice, and give thanks to Almighty God; having sent us so toward and vertuous a Prince to reign over us, as our only natural friend, lord, and King, at this time present. Desiring al men to continue in obedience and duty, with many other godly exhortations very notably set forth, and with great learning.

And after the sermon don, the mass proceded to the end: and at *Verbum caro factum est*, the Lord Windsor offered the standard of the Lion; the Lord Talbot offered the banner embroidered; and next to that were the four banners of saints, by the bearers thereof, to the bishops.

Then came the Dean of Windsor and chaplains, and received the palls from the feet of the representation, and conveyed them forthwith to the vestry.

Then came six knights and received the representation; which was delivered to them by the gentlemen ushers; and so with reverence brought into the vestry. Then was the 17
rich pall removed, and conveyed in like manner.

Then the three bishops that did execute came down to the herse: after whom followed the Archbishop of Canterbury, and stood a little behind the bishops with his crosses. Then the quire with one voice did sing *Circumdederunt me*, with the rest of the canticle funeral; and the bishops censing the corps, with other ceremonies therunto appertaning.

Then was the vault uncovered under the said corps; and the corps let down therin by the vice, with help of sixteen tal yeomen of the guard, appointed to the same.

Then proceded the Bishop of Winton in the service of the burial, standing at the head of the said vault, and about

the same al the officers of household: that is to say, the Lord St. John, lord great master; the Earl of Arundel, lord chamberlain; Sir Thomas Cheyne, treasurer; Sir John Gage, comptroller; William Knevet, sergeant porter; and the four gentlemen ushers ordinary, standing about the corps, with their staves and rods. Then, when the mold was brought, and cast in the grave by the prelate executing, at the word *Pulverem pulveri et cinerem cineri*, first the Lord Great Master, and after the Lord Chamberlain, and al others aforesaid in order, with heavy and dolorous lamentation, brake their staves in shivers upon their heads, and cast them after the corps within the pit. And then the gentlemen ushers in like maner brake their rods, and threw them into the vault with exceeding sorrow and heavines, not without grievous sighs and tears, not only of them, but of many others, as wel of the meaner sort as of the nobility, very piteous and sorrowful to behold.

Then, after this finished, and *De profundis* said, and the grave covered again with the planks, Garter stood in the midst of the quire, accompanied with al them of his office, in their coats of armes, and with a lowd voice proclaimed the Kings Majesty stil now living in this form: "Almighty God of his infinite goodnes give good life and long to the most high and mighty Prince, our sovereign Lord King Edward VI. by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in earth, under God, of the Church of England and Ireland the supreme Head and Sovereign, of the most noble order of the Garter." And with that he cryed, *Vive le noble Roy Edward.* And the rest of the officers of armes cryed the same three several times after him.

Then the trumpets sounded with great melody and courage, to the comfort of al them that were there present. And al these things were don afore six of the clock of the same day. And then every man departed to his place appointed into the castle. Where they went to their dinners. And after dinner the lords dissevered themselves, and taking their horses hasted them al to London that night. And

thus were the funeral duties of interment of this most mighty and redoubted Prince fully accomplished and ended. On whose soul Jesu have mercy. *Amen.* J. S.

B. 18

The Lord Protector's prayer for God's assistance in the high office of Protector and Governor, new committed to him.

LORD God of hosts! in whose only hand is life and death, victory and confusion, rule and subjection; receive me thy humble creature into thy mercy, and direct me in my requests, that I offend not thy high Majesty. O my Lord and my God, I am the work of thy hands: thy goodnes cannot reject me. I am the price of thy Sons death Jesu Christ; for thy Sons sake thou wilt not lese me. I am a vessel for thy mercy; thy justice will not condemn me. I [am recorded in] the book of life: I am written with the very bloud of Jesus; thy inestimable love wil not cancell then my name. For this cause, Lord God, I am bold to speak to thy Majesty. Thou, Lord, by thy providence hast called me to rule; make me therfore able to follow thy calling. Thou, Lord, by thine order hast committed an anointed King to my governance: direct me therfore with thy hand, that I erre not from thy good plesure. Finish in me, Lord, thy beginning, and begin in me that thou wilt finish. By thee do kings reign; and from thee al power is derived. Govern me, Lord, as I shal govern: rule me, as I shal rule. I am ready for thy governance; make thy people ready for mine. I seek thy only honour in my vocation: amplify it, Lord, with thy might. If it be thy will I shal rule, make thy congregation subject to my rule. Give me power, Lord, to suppress whom thou wilt have obey.

E MSS. Rev. Patr. D. Joh. Episc. Eliensis.

I am by appointment thy minister for thy King, a shepherd for thy people, a sword-bearer for thy justice: prosper the King, save thy people, direct thy justice. I am ready, Lord, to do that thou commandest; command that thou

wilt. Remember, O God, thine old mercies: remember thy benefits shewed heretofore. Remember, Lord, me thy servant, and make me worthy to ask. Teach me what to ask, and then give me that I ask. None other I seek to, Lord, but thee; because none other can give it me. And that I seek is thine honour and glory. I ask victory, but to shew thy power upon the wicked. I ask prosperity, but for to rule in peace thy congregation. I ask wisdom, but by my counsil to set forth thy cause. And as I ask for my self, so, Lord, pour thy knowledg upon al them which shal counsil me. And forgive them, that in their offence I suffer not the reward of their evil. If I have erred, Lord, forgive me: for so thou hast promis'd me. If I shal not err, direct me: for that only is thy property. Great things, O my God, hast thou begun in my hand; let me then, Lord, be thy minister to defend them. Thus I conclude, Lord, by the name of thy Son Jesus Christ. Faithfully I commit al my cause to thy high providence: and so rest to advance al humane strength under the standard of thy omnipotency.

---

19 C.

The Lord Protector and the other Governors of the King's person, to the justices of peace in the county of Norfolk; when a new commission of the peace was sent them.

To our very good Lord, the Earl of Sussex, and to our loving friends, Sir Roger Townsend and Sir William Paston, knights; and to other justices of peace within the county of Norfolk.

Cotton Librar. Tit. B. 2.

AFTER our right harty commendations: Where the most noble King of famous memory, our late sovereign Lord and Master K. Henry VIII. (whom God pardon) upon the great trust which his Majesty had in your vertuous wisdoms and good dispositions to the commonwealth of this realm, did especially name and appoint you among others, by his commission under his great seal of England, to be conservators and justices of his peace within this his county

of Norfolk: forasmuch as the said commissions were dissolved by his decease, it hath pleased the Kings Majesty our sovereign Lord that now is, by the advice and consent of us, the Lord Protector, and others, executors of our said late sovereign Lord, whose names be underwritten, to whom, with others, the government of his most royal person and the order of his affeyres is by his last wil and testament committed, til he should be of the ful age of eighteen years, to cause new commissions ageyn to be made, for the conservation of his peace throughout this realm; wherof you shal by this bearer receive one for that county: and for that the good and diligent execution of the charge committed to you and others by the same, shal be a notable surety to the King our sovereign Lords person that now is, (to whom God give encrease of vertue, honor, and many years,) as a most certain stay to the commonwealth, which must needs prosper where justice hath place, and reigneth; we shal desire you, and in his Majesties name charge and command you, upon the recepte hereof, with al diligence to assemble your selves together; and calling unto you al such others as be named in the said commission, you shal first cry and cal to God, to give you grace to execute the charge committed unto you with al truth and uprightnes according to your oaths, which you shal endeavour your selves to do in al things appertaining to your office accordingly, in such sort as, al private malice, sloth, negligence, displesure, disdain, corruption, and sinister affections set apart, it may appear that you have God, and the preservation of your sovereign Lord and natural country, before your eyes; and that you forget not, that by the same your selves, your wives, and your children shal surely prosper, and be also preserved.

For the better doing wherof you shal at this your first 20
assembly make a division of your selves into hundreds or wepentakes; that is to say, two at the least to have a special ey and regard to the good and order of that or those hundreds, to se the peace duly kept, to se vagabonds and perturbers of the peace ponyshed; and that every man ap-

ply himself to do as his calling doth require; and in al things to keep good order, without alteration, innovation, or contempt of any thing, that by the laws of our seid late soveraign Lord is prescribed and set forth unto us, for the better direction and framing of our selves towards God and honest policy. And if any person or persons, whom you shal think you cannot rule and order without trouble to the country, shal presume to do the contrary, upon your information to us therof, we shal so aid and assist you in the execution of justice and punishment of al such contemptuous offenders, as the same shall be example to others.

And further, his Majesties plesure, by the advice and consent aforesaid, is, that you shal take such order among you, as you fail not once in every six weeks, til you shal be otherwise commanded, to write unto us, the Lord Protector, and others of the Privy Council, in what state that shire standeth; and whether any notable things have happened, or were like to happen in those parts, that you cannot redress, which would be speedily met withal and looked unto, or wherein you shal need any advice or counsil. To the intent we may put our hands to the stay and reformation of it in the beginning, as appertaineth: preying you al to take order, that every commissioner in that shire may have a double or copy of this lettre, both for his owne better instruction, and to shew to the jentylmen and such others as inhabit in the hundreds especially appointed to them. That every man may the better conform himself to do trouthe, and help to the advauncement of justice, according to their most bounden duties, and as they wil answer for the contrary. Thus fare you hartily wel. From the Tower of London the xii. February.

Your loving friends,

E. Hertford,
W. Seint John,
Edw. North.

T. Cantuarien. Tho. Wryothesly, Cancell. Joh. Russel, Cuth. Durysme, Anthon. Browne, Will. Paget, Antony Denny, Will. Herbert.

D. 21

Common places of state: drawn up by Will. Thomas, esq. clark of the Council. For King Edward's use.

I. *A necessary order which a prince in battayl must observe and keep, if he intend to subdue or pass through his enemies lands.*

FYRST, he must examin, whether hys cause be lawful and just: for in a just cause God shal assyst hym. E Biblioth. R. D. Johann. Episc. Eliens.

Item, He must provyde, that he have a sufficient nomber of men, and money ready for them.

Item. He must counsail wyth the most wyse and expert men of hys realm, of the weyght and daungers that may fal: so that, as far as reason may lead hym, he be not ignoraunt what frute shal follow of hys battail.

Item, He must provyde that hys host lack no vyttayles.

Item, He must se that he lack no engine and other thyng requyred to defend hymself, or invade his enemy.

Item, That he have capytayns expert in warrs, the which shal execute hys commaundement.

Item, Let hym be assuryd of his own cuntry or he invade hys enemy; and yf case require, set that quyet, or ells depart not.

Item, Let hym leve behynd hym sum noble and trusted man, to order, and, yf nede be, to subdew hys enemyes in hys absence, and order them.

Item, That the most strongest fortresse be commytted to his most trusty freyndes.

Item, That he oftentymes consult and counsail with hys wyse and expert counsail: that he may know what is most expedient to do, and let hym use theyr counsail.

Item, When he entreth his enemies lands, he shal cal hys host before hym, that he may know the number, and yf he fynde any unable to battail, to put hym away.

Item, That he have no superfluous carriage: for therof groweth great dyspleasure; specially when a prynce intendeth short victory. And then let hys vyttayles be hys moost carryage. Wherin must be taken a good order; so

that he have them wyth hym, or pass by such places where it may be had; or els he washeth a stone, that is to say, he laboureth in vayne.

II. *How only by customable usage of dedes of armes, the Romayns had the victory of al other nations.*

The old custome to chose knights at sixteen yere of age was to be perfect in theyr age, and to the custom of warr.

Also a prynce must dyligently consyder which be most princypal and most expert; and over that, what every man in hys host is most apt unto.

22 For it is very peryllous to set an unexpert man in auethoryte. For dyvers men have dyvers wytts; and as they be, they must be used. Some be able to rewle an host; some an hundred fotemen; other an hundred horsemen: some be good on horse, some be good on fote, other be good in felde, or battail, other to invade a castel, other to defend it, other sodeynly on horse to invade an host, other swyfte on horseback to espy news, other in ryding to compass a felde and to note theyr number, other apt to chose a mete or apt place for a felde, other be expert in [the theory of] battaile, and naught when they be at it, whose counsail is not to be refused: other have no experience, howbeit they be valyaunt when they be put therto, other be both expert and victorious, other be able neyther to counsail, defend, nor invade, they be good at home. *Quæ secta inutilis:* other be good in ingynes, other to make bridges and passages, other to espy theyr enemies secrets in dyssimulated habyts, other to gyve counsel and dyscuss ambassades, other mete for execution of justice, other mete to kepe a princes treasure, and other thyngs of charge.

Item, The foreward of the battail must be strong, as wel with horsemen as with footmen: and let there be put hys capitains of the valyauntest.

Item, He must consyder that hys felde be set to an advauntage, and accordyng therto the host must be ordered.

Item, That he provyde wher hys host shal commodyously rest, or he depart from whence he is; and diligently

: hym note the cuntry, whether it be plain, hilly, mountaynes, or ful of waters, and what straytes be therin.

Item, Yf he may, let hym have it trewly painted or he enter; so that the daungiers may be known, and the horsemen may healpe the footmen in tyme of war.

Item, Let hym provyde that hys carriage trouble not hys host, yf they be invaded: wherfore let them be conveyed by the one syde, provyded that they be surely garded.

Item, There must be provysion that al artillery may be surely carryed. For the loss of that is the peryl of the host.

Item, That the exploratorsbe sent to espy the journeys of the adversaryes, and what vyttails they have, with al other thyngs by them intended.

Item, That he take deliberation, yf he may get the friendship of any great man of hys enemyes counsail, by corruption of money or otherwyse, by whom he may know the purpose of hys said enemies.

Item, That every day there be sent light horsemen to the adversaries host to perceyve theyr purpose, lest they be sodeynly invaded: and also to the intent he may invade them unprovyded, yf the case so requyred. *Requiruntur multi secreti et fideles.*

Item, Yf he can perceyve that hys adversary intend hasty battayl, let him take hymself in a wayte, that he may provyde hym in takyng of hys felde to his advauntage, and put hymself shortly in order.

Item, Yf he knows any daungerous way betwene him 23
and hys enemyes, he shal by wysdom and dilygence procede toward that, until he come within three or four bowshotes, and ther put hymself in order to invade hys host.

Item, He must espy what artillery hys enemies use, and what order they take.

Item, Every country hath hys maner of fyghting to theyr advauntage, and theyr enemies confusion.

Item, He must beware of every hard and dowteful passage, except he have leasure to convaye hys host, or except necessite compel hym.

Item, It is better to abyde the comyng to a battayl, than to invade: for the fyrst commers commonly lack order.

Item, Yf the enemyes ride out of order, and wander, invade them; for lack of order shal destroy them.

Item, Yf thyne enemies draw to hostry of no strength, and disperse themselfe, then they be easylyer taken.

Item, When the host draweth neer to the enemies, let the wards come nygh together for their better surcottes.

Item, That footmen be on the one syde not myxt with horsemen, *quod generaretur confusio.*

Item, In every ward must be some with hand gunns, crosbowes, and other manual ingins; and likewise in the latter ward, to put asyde the light horsemen.

Item, Yf he may, let hym provyde that the sun and wynd be for hym, specially for dust, yf there be any.

Item, Yf he be horsed, and stronger than hys enemy, let hym provoke hym to open battayle in the playne felde; and yf his footmen be myghtier than hys enemies horsemen, let hym take the advauntage of a streyght place.

Item, When he invadeth hys enemy, let hys caryage be put in the one syde, and surely garded.

Item, He shal put hys ingyns of battayl betwene him and his enemyes, and wel defend them.

Item, Yf he be compelled to follow hys enemy, and for default of vittayl to invade therin; or yf he dread lest hys host fortify his company, so that he cannot escape, except he overcome his host, let hym study to break hys felde, that is to say, let hym vex them with gonnes, and other poynts of warr; so that they may dysorder themselves.

Item, A prynce must note the tyme, and use as it serveth hym.

Item, When he is actually entred battayl, hys host shal stand styl in a cluster, and in no wyse remove from the place, whatsoever he se; though he se his company partly flee, and partly slayne; and also though he se hys enemyes flee. For order maketh and marreth al.

Item, When thou hast invaded thyne enemies with the

fore and hynder ward, let the myddle stand styff and close to help both, as nede shal requyre. And when both wards have wel fought, let the myddle ward fyght; but for al that, let them not dysorder themselfe, except compulsyon.

Item, He must have provysion for passages of waters. 24

Item, Before the battayle, a prynce must se the order of his host, and reform al thyngs mysordered: and thys may not be forgotten.

Item, He shal shew them, that he wyl lyve and dy with them that day: and that, besydes theyr perpetual honour, he wyl never forget to honour and reward them. And for this, let him se couragyous prynces orations, as Alexander, Catalyne, with other infinite, &c.

Item, He shal neyther magnify his enemy, nor despise hym, but encourage hys capytains to kepe theyr order; and if that they so do, the vyctory wyl follow.

Item, He shal practyse, that both hys enemy and hys host may alway thynk that more strength is commyng to hym.

Item, That he se no robbyng, and that he commaund hys captayns to se that observed upon payne of death.

Item, That he execute indifferently justice, and punish them that cause debates.

Item, When hys enemies do treat of peace, then let hymself lefte awayt. *Propter pericula in hoc casu experta.*

Item, Let no man pass his cuntry, and invade another, without nede requyre; except he se how he may return with honour, or how he may surely abyde there. It is but symplenes to go up and down in a cuntry, and to ryde far in it. And hard it is to be long sure in a cuntry straunge, and to return with honour. For in the time of Talbot, xl knyghts of England layd sege to the town of Roane; and when they lacked that was necessary for theyr defence, therfore they lost it. And lyke thynges were done at Britain, at Vans, where they lost al.

Item, Yf any tydings come, forthwith let them be heard, and follow them, as the tyme shal serve.

Item, A prynce must be keping hys promyse, ells no man shall trust hym.

Item, He must study to have the favour of the best of the country, and he must be just and egall.

Item, A prince must study to have the friendshyp of the cuntries adjoyning: and let hym not have battayl with divers at once, except he be compelled. For there is moche suttelty used.

Item, In the day of the battayl he must have about hym a certen of the wysest and most expert men, to kepe, follow, and counsail them.

Item, He must provyde that hys enemyes espy not the number of hys host, and the order of the same.

Item, Yf it fortune hym to lese a battayl or two, or to lese hys artillery, then policy [it] is to resort to some fortres, and there to cal hys host together, and to refresh them as nedeth, and to get new men, and to take peace yf he can. And in the mean tyme to make hys fortres strong, tyl he be able by some means to make battail, and to have al thyngs redy therfore.

Item, He shal set hys tents nygh to hys enemyes host, that he may trouble and break theyr array.

Item, He must beware that he be not beseged.

25 *Item*, He must beware, that, after one battail lost, be begyn not another forthwith, except necessite compel hym. For after a dystrage, the host cannot sodenly be apt to fyght. For wounds and mournyngs shal let them; and theyr enemies after vyctory be more imbolded; howbeyt oftentymes men thynk upon dyspleasure to be revenged; and so for lack of polycy take fury rebuke. And in thys maner Charles Duke of Burgon was destroyed. Wherfore set reason before wyll, and begyn to thynk nothing hard to perfourme.

Item, Yf thou wynn a battayl, or a fortress of thyne enemies, pursew hym graciously, and suffer hym neyther to rest, nor to restable hys strength. Wysdom it is to follow the advauntage.

Item, Yf thou get a cuntry, committ it to some great man; and lykewyse of fortresses. And let hym be wel entreated, and lack no money. For such men would be cherished.

III. *The maner of besegyng a fortress.*

Fyrst, A prynce must remembre, whether he have sufficyent men to besege it in three dyvers parties; and whether over that, he have men sufficyent for hys own defence, and money both.

Item, He must provyde artillery and vittaylls necessary, and let hym wel beware that hys vittayl come not to hys enemyes hands; and this principal to be noted.

Item, He must espy some man that knoweth the strength of the fortress, and theyr counsayl must he use.

Item, He must espy how it be most easily taken, and where hys host may best set theyr felde for theyr assurety.

Item, That done, set them in the foreward that were before sent to espy the strength of the fortress, wel furnyshed with archers and dyggers, and al other thyngs.

Item, Let them come as nygh to the walls as they can; and so order them, that they may reject theyr enemyes darts.

Item, Above al thyngs, provyde that nothing may pass out or enter into the fortress. For yf one gate be open, it shal be never overcome.

Item, Let one ward be ever ready to help the other, as nede shal requyre.

Item, The fyrst day of besegyng, the felde must be fortyfyed.

Item, Men must be sent to every place to espy whether any rescue be intended, &c. And yf it so be, let hym consyder theyr power; and if he see paryl, remove hys host and his artillery, lest he be invaded in both sydes, and voyde to some sure fortress for the tyme.

Item, Yf he se hys enemies of smal power, he may set some to fyght with them, and other to kepe the sege.

Item, When the walls be broken, fortify hys men, and make an assawte; provyded that he leve behynd them both

26 horsemen and fotemen, to withstand hys back enemyes: For that not doyng, the Earl of Arminac lost Bysander, a castel of Lumbardy.

Item, Yf he be put aback in the fyrst conflict, let hym invade as sone as the day followyng. For upon a vyctory oftentymes the oppidan is benegligent, trustyng not so deynly to be invaded. By thys provysion many places and fortresses hath ben optained.

Item, Many other thyngs be requyred: howbeit a prynce must specially beware of treason and simulation.

IV. *How a prynce beseged shal order hymself.*

Above al thyng a prynce must study, as wel in tyme of peace as in warr, to know hys neyghbours mynds; and oftentymes to send orators to them, as wel to nouryshe love, as to know theyr good wyll.

Item, Yf he se by a prynces ordinaunce, that he intendeth warr, let hym streyngthe hys fortress toward that contry.

Item, Let hym make some friend in that prynces house, by whom he may know what is intended.

Item, Yf he be assured that the prynce intendeth hym war, let hym prepare an host of as myghty men as hys money wil suffer hym to doo. And yf he thynk hym suffycient to overcom hym, let hym follow hys fortune, and tarry hys enemy in the entry to hys contry; or, yf he may, in hys enemyes contry.

Item, Yf he thynk hymself unsufficyent in men and money, let hym fortyfy hys hedde places next to hys enemyes, and garde them with money.

Item, Yf there be moo fortresses then he may furnysh, let them be take down; and al maner vittayl be caryed from thens, and the cuntry left bare.

Item, Let hym have good capytayns in hys fortresses; the which may do hys enemyes dayly displeasure, and dysperse hys host, as it was done at Metz and other places.

Item, Horsemen must be provyded, as it shal be thought necessary, to take the messengers, and then make provision with order.

Item, Yf such obstacles be purveyed for enemies, they shal little prevayle.

V. *How a fortress shal be kept: and how they that be beseged shal order theyrselfe.*

Fyrst, dygge up the erth to the heyght of the walls, for gons and other ingyns.

Item, The bulwarks must be fortyfied; and he must beware, that the inner buyldyings joyn not to the wals. For nygh to the wal inwardly must be made a trench to a good heyght: so that yf the wal fayl, the wal of erth may help.

Item, He must have good capytayns to order and visit hys watch of the wals, and men expert.

Item, Crosbows, bumbards, dykers, physicians, surgeons, 27
poticaryes, with al other thyngs necessary.

Item, He must have one capitayn to order hys watches, as nede shal requyre.

Item, Every night the walls must be sene, and an order set and kept for theyr sure custody.

Item, There must be watch kept nygh to the walls, to help theyr keepers, as nede shal requyre; and also to withstand inward treason.

Item, Yf there be any noyse, let every man go to theyr own place: for oftentymes such noyse is made to make men roune together, whyle their enemies invade.

Item, Let it be taken heed theyrwhyles, that theyr waters be not poysoned.

Item, When he shal invade, let hym wel counsayl, and hys commodities foresene.

Item, Yf the wals be broken, let them be amended forthwith, for fear of invasion: as it was at Rhodes, whyles the lord was at mass.

Item, Let it ever be commoned, that more people shal come, to help to put them in better comfort.

Item, A prince must beware that there be no murmur in the host, and if there be, that they be openly punyshed.

Item, Yf the capitain understand that any battail is lost, or fortress taken, unknown unto hys host, let that be secret:

and let hym ever shew hys host thyngs of comfort and pleasure.

Item, In the principal parts must be set pryncipal men.

Item, He must have guydes that know the cuntry.

Item, Yf any message come, let hym ponder, and depely discusse it, and be not over lyght of credence.

Item, Yf it be a cuntry of hylls, waters, or of strayts, he must have the moo footmen.

Item, When it is proceded in battayl, some wyse men strong and sure must be left behynd, lest they invade in the inner part of the battayl.

Item, Let not new locks of gates oft be made, for fear of counterfeyting: and it must be provyded of sure kepers.

Item, In the nyght there must be sure watch about the yates, for daungers that may fall: as it was don at Arras.

Item, There must be made barrars, nygh unto the fortress, for the defence of footmen, and the savety of horsemen, and dyvers other consyderations.

Item, The wals shal be strengthened with thornes for shakyng.

Item, Prysoners must be wel entreated: and yf thou take hym that is not trew unto hys prynce, punysh him forthwithall.

Item, Yf any enemies treat of delyverance of their fortresses, hear it wel, but be not light of credence; for there be many sotteltyes ymagined. And at Betynam many were by that mean destroyed.

Item, The watch must be kept all nyght, and the watchmen not depart until every thyng be sure.

28 *Item*, When the yates must be opened, there must be so many present as may withstand the secret assault of theyr enemyes. For by thys mean Leystoure was taken: for when two or three had opened the yates, theyr enemyes secretly hydd, invaded them and slew them; and there was treason within.

Item, There must be many porters, for few may be soon slayne by treason, &c.

Item, If any in the nyght season cal to come in, the which

by name and voyce be known, that notwithstanding, lye secret espyes, that it be known what number there be of them; and when thou openest the utter gates, se the inner gate shytte. For Frenchmen by thys mean toke Moelam: for four traitors fayning that they had brought Inglish men from the battayl of S. Denys, they opened the gates, and were deceyved.

Item, Many men wyl consyder, and counsail dyverse and great thyngs to be attempted: be not swyft to follow theyr counsail.

Item, Some be ignoraunt, and dread no paryll.

Item, Some wyl persuade and counsayl great thyngs to be done, that they may be taken and thought couragyous; the which in effect be of no courage. *Hi in bello extremi.*

Item, Let hym beware, that none of hys host have too great famylyarite with hys enemies, for fear of treason.

Item, When he wyl battayll, let it be secretly done, that the guyders know it not, and let the gates be fast shytte before he cause [hys] men to put them in armes. Also, let men be set to kepe dilygently the passages out of the city, that none may go unto theyr enemyes to shew the preparations that are made against them. Also, when he shal come unto the felde with hys enemyes to fyght, let hym take a way contrary unto that way which myght be thought he would take; and after he hath gon two or three myles in that way, let hym return unto the way which was first thought that he wold have taken. But let hym take good hede, that neyther the guydes nor other of hys company know whither he wyl go, unto the tyme that they be in the feylde.

Item, Yf any of the carriages or guydes of the waynes come into the town, let it be sene that at their comyng in one of the yates be shytte.

Item, Yf it fortune any of the sowldyers to be hurte or wounded in battayl, or ells out of the battayl, let the princes or theyr ministers se the medycyne be minystred unto them in dew order. Let them be visited, and gently

intreated with good and soft words. And let them neyther lack physician nor surgeon. For these sayd thyngs do encourage and nourysh the hartes of warryers, and make them strong, and wyllyng to fyght.

Item, It behoveth a prynce to make good search, and to know which of hys company be most diligent, valyaunt, and taught in feats of war; and of them to make most, and to nourysh them with great liberalyte, accordyng to theyr meryts. For the liberalyte of a prynce cawseth hys company to be diligent, and also multiplyeth and encreaseth the same.

29 *Item*, It apperteyneth to a prince, to forbidd that none of hys company entend conflyct, or to go out of hys host, without lycence of theyr capytayns.

Item, Many other thyngs might be rehersed, whereby enemyes might be constreyned and repressed: but take thys for a general conclusyon, that the effect of battayl consysteth and standeth in three thyngs, that is to say, in abundance of money, in good order put and kept, and in following the counsail and advertysement of wyse and expert warryers.

VI. *To pacify the sedition of sowldyours.*

When A. Manlius consul had perceyved that hys sowdiours grudged against the men of Campania, where they were now lodged, conspiryng togyther to slee theyr hostes, and after to take away theyr goods; he spred abroad thys rumour, that they shulde ly there styl al the wynter: and thus they of theyr purpose let and dysturbed, he delyvered Campania from great peryll, and as tyme and occasyion served, punyshed them that were causers of that sedition.

What tymes the legyons of the Romayns were furyously sent and bent on peryllous sedytion, Lucius Sylla retored them from theyr rage unto a quyetness by thys polycy; he commaunded that word shuld be brought hastily to the host, that theyr enemyes were at hand, and that they should raise up a cry, and cal them to harness, and

blow up the trumpets: wherby he brak off the sedytion, they altogether uniting, as nede requyred, agaynst their enemyes.

What tyme Pompeius host had slayne the senatours of Millan, for fear of trouble and busynes that myght have happened, yf he shuld have called the offenders alone to examination, he sent for them al togyther, as wel for the faultles as the gyltie; so that they semed to be sent for for some other purpose, and therfore appeared they that were faultie with less fear, bycause they came not alone; and they whose conseyence pleded them not gyltie gave good attendaunce to kepe them that were faultie, lest peradventure theyr escape and flyght myght have tourned them to displeasure.

E. 30

The names of the Knights of the Bath made by King Edward the Sixth, February 20, Shrove Sunday, being the day of his coronation.

The Duke of Suffolk.
The Earl of Hertford.
The Lord Matravers.
The Lord Strange.
The Lord Lysle.
The Lord Cromwel.
The Lord Scrope's son and heir.
Sir Francis Russel.
Sir Anthony Browne.
Sir John Gates.
Sir Alexander Umpton, of Oxfordshire.
Sir Valentine Knightley.
Sir Geo. Vernon, of the Peak.
Sir Thomas Housselyn.
Sir Edmund Mollineux.
[a] Sir William Balthrope.
Sir Thomas Nevyl, of Hold.
[b] Sir Holcroft.
Sir Henry Tyrrel.
Sir Wymond Carew.
The Earl of Oxford.
The Earl of Ormonde.
The Lord Talbot.
The Lord Herbert.
The Lord Charles Brandon.
The Lord Hastings.
The Lord Windsors son and heir.
Sir Richard Devereux.
Sir Henry Semour.
Sir Anthony Cook, of Essex.
Sir George Norton.

Ex Offic. Armor. No. I. 7.

[a] Perhaps Babthorp.
[b] Thomas perhaps, that was Knt. Marshal.

Sir Robert Lytton.
Sir John Port, of Darbyshire.
Sir Christopher Barker, Garter.
Sir James Hales.
Sir Thomas Brycknal.
Sir Amgel Mariam.
Sir John Cutts, of Essex.
Sir William Scarington.
Sir William Snathe.

These knights, being fourty in number, being nominated of the Bath, and made with so great royalty, were commanded to pay the duties of mony double to the same payable by other knights.

The Knights of the Carpet dubbed by the King on Shrove Tuesday, in the morning; viz. *some of them the same day, and the rest at other times during the* utas *of the above-said noble solemnization, being fifty-five in all.*

Sir John Radcliff.
Sir Thomas Gray.
Sir John Windham.
Sir John Vaughan.
Sir Anthony Heviningham.
Sir John Wentworth.
Sir John Godsalve.
Sir Thomas Guilford.
Sir John Savage.
Sir Walter Savage.
Sir Humphrey Stafford.
Sir George Pierpoint.
Sir Thomas Fitz-Herbert.
Sir Thomas Hanmar.
31 Sir George Brocket.
Sir John Horsey.
Sir John Salisbury.
Sir William Hollers.
Sir William Rainsford.
Sir William Pickering.
Sir Hary Doyle.
Sir ——— Drury.
Sir George Harper.
Sir John Norton.
Sir Thomas Nevyl.
Sir William Stanley.
Sir John Butler, of Glocestershire.
Sir John Shelton, of Suff.
Sir Anthony Anger.
Sir John Mason.
Sir Richard Cotton.
Sir Thomas Newman.
Sir Philip Calthorp.
Sir Maurice Denis.
Sir Rowland Martin.
Sir Thomas Dyer.
Sir ——— Barneston.
Sir Roger Guilford.
Sir Edward Rogers.
Sir Roger Blewit.
Sir John Horsey.
Sir Francis Inglesfield.
Sir John Spring.
Sir John Grevil.
Sir Thomas Bell.

Sir Rice Gryffith.
Sir Thomas Gravener.
Sir Thomas Hollers.
Sir Thomas Wroth.
Sir John Cary.
Sir Urien Brereton.
Sir John Butler.
Sir Thomas Kemp.
Sir Robert Langley.
Sir John à Ryce.

F.

A Ballad sung to King Edward in Cheapside, as he passed through London to his coronation.

SING, up heart, sing, up heart, and sing no more downe, Ubi supra.
But joy in King Edward that weareth the crowne.

Sir, song in time past hath been downe a downe,
And long it hath lasted in tower and towne,
To have it much meeter, *downe* hath been added;
But *up* is more sweeter to make our hearts gladded.
Sing, up heart, &c.

King Edward up springeth from puerilitie,
And toward us bringeth joy and tranquillitie;
Our hearts may be light and merry chere,
He shal be of such might, that al the world may him fear.
Sing, up heart, &c.

His father late our sovereign both day and also houre,
That in joy he might reign like a prince of high power,
By sea and land hath provided for him eke,
That never king of England had ever the leke.
Sing, up heart, &c.

He hath gotten already Boleign, that goodly town, 32
And biddeth sing speedily up, up, and not downe.
When he waxeth wight, and to manhood doth spring,
He shal be strait then of four realms the King.
Sing, up heart, &c.

Yee children of England, for the honour of the same,
Take bow and shaft in hand, learn shootage to frame.
That you another day may so do your parts,
To serve your King as wel with hands as with hearts.
Sing, up heart, &c.

Yee children that be towards, sing up and not downe,
And never play the cowards to him that weareth the crowne:
But alway do your care his plesure to fulfil,
Then shal you keep right sure the honour of England stil.
Sing, up heart, &c.

G.

Queen Katharine Parr's letter in Latin, to the Lady Mary; concerning her translation of Erasmus's Paraphrase upon the Gospel of St. John.

Vespasian, F. 3. Cot. Libr.

CUM multa sint, nobilissima ac amantissima Domina, quæ me facile invitant hoc tempore ad scribendum, nihil tamen perinde me movet atque cura valetudinis tuæ, quam, ut spero, esse optimam, ita de eadem certiorem fieri, magnopere cupio. Quare mitto hunc nuntium quem judico fore tibi gratissimum, tum propter artem illam musicæ, qua te simul ac me oppido oblectari non ignoro; tum quod a me profectus tibi certissime referre possit de omni statu ac valetudine mea. Atque sane in animo fuit ante hunc diem iter ad te fecisse, teque coram salutasse; verum voluntati meæ non omnia responderunt. Nunc spero hac hyeme, idque propediem, propius nos esse congressuras. Quo sane mihi nihil erit jucundum magis, aut magis volupe.

Cum autem, ut accepi, summa jam manus imposita sit per Maletum operi Erasmicó in Johannem (quod ad tralationem spectat) neque quicquam nunc restet, nisi ut justa quædam vigilantia ac cura adhibeatur in eodem corrigendo, te obsecro, ut opus hoc pulcherrimum atque utilissimum, jam emendatum per Maletum aut aliquem tuorum, ad me transmitti cures; quo suo tempore prelo dari possit: atque

porro significes, an sub tuo nomine in lucem felicissime exire velis, an potius incerto auctore. Cui operæ mea sane opinione injuriam facere videberis, si tui nominis autoritate etiam posteris commendatum iri recusaveris: in quo accuratissime transferendo tantos labores summo Reip. bono suscepisti; pluresque (ut satis notum est) susceptura, si valetudo corporis permisisset. Cum ergo in hac re abs te laboriose admodum sudatum fuisse nemo non intelligat, cur 33
quam omnes tibi merito deferant laudem rejicias, non video. Attamen ego hanc rem omnem ita relinquo prudentiæ tuæ, ut quamcunque velis rationem inire, eam ego maxime approbandam censuero.

Pro crumena quam ad me dono misisti ingentes tibi gratias ago. Deum Opt. Max. precor, ut vera ac intaminata felicitate perpetuo te beare dignetur. In quo etiam diutissime valeas. Ex Hanworthia 20. Septembris.

Tui studiosissima ac amantissima

Katherina Regina KP.

H.

Queen Katherine Par to King Henry; gone in his expedition against France.

ALTHOWGH the dyscourse of tyme and accompte of days nether ys long nor many of your Majesties absens, yet the want of your presens, so much beloved and desired of me, maketh me, that I cannot quyetly pleasur in any thyng, until I hear from your Majestye. The tyme therfor semeth to me very long wythe a great desire to know how your Hyeghness hath done, syns your departyng hens. Whos prosperite and helthe I prefer and desyre more than myne own. And whereas I know your Majesties absens ys never wythout gret respects of thyngs moost convenyent and necessary, yet love and affection compelleth me to desyre your presens. And againe, the same zele and love forceth me also to be best content wyth that whyche ys your wyl and pleasure. And thus love maketh me in al thynges to

MSS. penes me.

set apart myne own commodite and pleasure, and to embrase moost joyfully hys wyl and pleasure whom I love. God, the knower of secrets, can juge these words not to be only wrytten wyth ynke, but moost truly impressed in the hart. Muche more I omytt, lest I schuld seme to go about to prayse my self, or crave a thank. Whych thyng to do I mynde nothyng lesse, but a playn symple relacyon of my zele and love towards your Majestie, procedyng from the abundance of the herte. Wheryn I must nedes confesse I deserve no worthy commendatyon, havyng such just occasion to do the same.

I make lyke accompte wythe your Majestie, as I do wythe God for hys benefyts and gyftes heped upon me dayly: knowlegyng my self always a gret detter unto hym, in that I do omytt my dutye towarde hym, not being able to recompence the leste of hys benefyts. In whyche state I am certayne and sure to dy. But yet I hope in his gracyous acceptation of my good wyll. And even such confydence I have in your Majesties gentylnes. Knowyng my
34 self never to have done my duty, as wer requysite and mete to such a noble and worthy Prince; at whose hands I have founde and receyved so muche love and goodnes, that wyth words I cannot express yt. Lest I should be to tedyous unto your Majestye, I fynysche thys my scrybeled letter, commyttyng you into the governance of the Lord wyth long life and prosperous felicite here, and after thys lyf to enjoy the kyngdom of hys elect. From Grenwyche.

By your Majesties humble, obedyent,
lovyng wife and servant,
Keteryn the Quene KP.

I.

A Poem, pretended to be writ against the preachers; entitled, A Pore Help.

The bucklar and defence of mother holy Kyrke,
And weapon to dryve hence al that against her wyrke.

1.

WIL none in al this land,
Step forth and take in hand
These fellows to withstand,
In number like the sand;
That with the gospel melles,
And wil do nothynge elles,
But tattling tales telles,
Agaynst our holy prelacie,
And holy Churches dignitie,
Saying, it is but papistrie,
Yea, fained and hypocrisie,
Erroneous and heresie:
And taketh their authoritie
Out of the holy Evangelie:
Al customes ceremonial
And rites ecclesiastical,
Not grounded on Scripture,
No longer to endure.
And thus ye may be sure
The people they allure,
And draw them from your lore,
The which wil grieve you sore.
Take hede I say therefore,
Your nede was never more.

2.

But sens ye be so slacke
It grieveth me alacke,
To heare behind your backe,
How they wil carpe and cracke.
And none of you that dare
With one of them compare.
Yet some there be that are
So bold to shew there ware.
And is no priest nor deacon,
That yet wil fire his becon,
Against such fellows fraile,
Make out with tothe and nayle,
And hoiste up maine saile,
And manfully to fyght
In holy prelates right,
With pen and ynke and paper,
And like no trifling japer,
To touch these fellows daper?

Biblioth. R. D. Joh. Ep. Elien.

3.

And I indede am he,
That wayteth for to se,
Who dare so hardy be,
To encounter here with me.
I stand here in defence
Of sum that be far hence,
And can both blysse and cense,
And also undertake
Right holy thyngs to make,
Yea, God within a cake;
And whoso that forsake,
His bread shal be dowe bake.
I openly profess
The holy blissed mess
Of strength to be no less,
Then it was at the first.
But I would see who durst
Set that among the worst,
For he should be accurst,
With boke, and bel, and candel:
And so I would him handel,
That he should right wel know
How to escape I trow,
So hardy on his head
Deprave our holy bread:
Or else to prate or patter
Against our holy water.
This is a playne matter,
It nedeth not to flatter.

35

4.

They be such holy thinges,
As hath bene us'd with kings.

And yet these lewd loselles
That bragg upon their gospelles,
At ceremonies swelles,
And at our christned belles,
And at your long gownes,
And at your shaven crownes,
And at your tippetts fyne,
The javells wil repyne.
They say, ye lead evil lives
With other mennys wyves,
And wil none of your owne.
And so your sede is sowne
In other mennys grounde,
True wedlock to confounde.
Thus do they rayle and rave,
Calling every priest knave,
That loveth messe to say,
And after idel al day.
They would not have you play,
To drive the time away:
But brabble on the Byble,
Which is but unpossible
To be lerned in al your life:
36 Yet therein they be rife,
Which maketh al this strife.
And also the paraphrases,
Much differing from your porteises,
They would have dayly used,
And porteise clean refused.
But they shall be accused,
That have so far abused
Their tongues against such holiness
And holy Churches busines.

5.

Many hundred yeres ago,
Great clearcks affirmeth so,
And other many mo,
That searched to and fro
In Scripture for to fynd,
What they might leave behind,
For to be kept in mind,
Among the people blinde,
As wavering as the winde;
And wrote therof such bokes,
That whoso on them lokes,
Shal find them to be clarkes,
As proveth by their warkes.
And yet there be that barke,
And say they be but darke.
But hark, ye loulars, harke,
So wel we shal you marke,
That, if the world shal turn,
A sort of you shal burn.
Ye durst as wel, I saye,
Within this two yeres day,
As sone to run away,
As such parts to play.
When sum did rule and reyne,
And auncient things maintayn,
Which now be counted vayne,
And brought into disdayne.
Such men I say they were,
As loved not this geare,
And kept you stil in feare,
To burn or faggots beare.
Then durst ye not be bold
(Against our lerninges old,
Or images of gold,
Which now be bought and sold;
And were the laymans boke
Whereon they ought to loke)
One word to speake amisse;
No, no, yee foles, I wysse,
A thing to playne it is.

6.

Then did these clarks devyne,
Dayly themselves encline
To prove and to defyne,
That Christs body above,
Which suffered for our love,
And dyed for our behove,
Is in the sacrament,
Flesh, bloude, and bone, present.
And bread and wine away,
As sone as they shal say
The words of consecration
In time of celebracion,
So must it be indede,
Though it be not in the Crede.
And yet these fellows new
Wil say, it is not true,
Christs body for to view
With any bodyly eye,
That do they playne deny,
And stiffly stand thereby:

And enterprise to write,
And also to endight
Bakes both great and smal
Aragynst these fathers al,
And heresy it cal,
That any man should teach,
Or to the people preach
Such thyngs without their reach.
And some there be that say,
That Christ cannot al day
Be kept within a box,
Nor yet set in the stocks,
Nor hidden like a fox,
Nor prisoner under locks,
Nor clothed with powdred armin,
Nor bredeth stinking vermin,
Nor dwelleth in an howse,
Nor eatyn of a mowse,
Nor mould or he be spent,
Nor yet in fire be brent,
Nor can no more be slayne,
Nor offered up agayne.
Blessed sacrament! for thy passion,
Hear and se our exclamation
Agaynst these men of new fashion,
That strive agaynst the holy nacion,
And jest of them in playes,
In taverns and high ways,
And theyr good acts disprayse:
And martyrs would them make
That brent were at a stake,
And sing pipe merri annot,
And play of wilnot cannot.
And as for cannot and wilnot,
Though they speke not of it, it skil not.

7.

For a nobler clark of late,
And worthy in estate,
Hath played with them checkmate,
Theyr courage to abate,
And tells them such a tale,
As makes their bonnets vail,
And marreth clean the sale
Of al their whole pastime,
And al is done in rhime.
Oh! what a man is thys,
That if he could, I wyss,
Would mend that is amyss.
His meaning is indede,
That if he might wel spede,
And beare some rule agayne,
It should be to their payne.
I think they were but worthy,
Because they be so sturdy
To rayl agaynst the wirke
Of our mother holy Kyrke.
Yet some there be in fame,
And prowdly do presume,
Unto this lerned man
To answer and they can,
And wene they had the grace
His balad to deface.

8.

And trowe you that wil be?
Nay, nay, beleve ye me,
I take my mark amyss,
If once he did not myss
A very narrow hyss.
Wel, if you come agen,
May happen twelve men
Shal do as they did then.
Have you forgot the bar,
That ever ther you ware,
And stode to make and mar
By God and by the contrey,
You had a narrow entrey, 37
Take hede of *coram nobis*,
We wil reckon with *vobis*.
If you come agen,
We wil know who pulled the hen.
For al your bold courage,
You may pay for the pottage.
And are you now so bragg
You may come to tagg,
Your hap may be to wagg
Upon a wooden nagg.
Or els a fair fyre
May happ to be your hyre.
Take hede lest you tyre,
And ly downe in the myre.
Hold fast by the main;
By the masse it is no game.
If my lord wax not lame,
You wil al be tame.
When you heare him next,
Mark wel his text.

He hath bene curstly vext,
I fere me he be wext
A Popistant stout.
Surely al the rout,
That heareth him shal doubt,
He wil be in and out,
Prowling round about,
To get forth the snout.
If prayer may do good,
All the whole brood,
Skurvy, skabbed, and skald,
Shaven, shorn, and bald,
Pore priests of Baal,
We pray for him al,
Unto the God of bread.
For if he be dead,
We may go to bedd,
Blindfold, and be ledd
Without ragg or shred.

9.

But I am sore adred
I se him loke so red,
Yet I durst ley my head,
As Doctor Fryer said,
He hath somewhat in store.
Wel, you shal know more,
Harken wel therfore,
Some shal pay the skore.
He hath bene a pardoner,
And also a gardener.
He hath bene a vitayler,
38 A lordly hospitelor,
A noble teacher,
And soso a preacher.
Tho Germyn his man
Were hanged, what than?
Say worse and you can.
Best let him alone,
For Peter, James, and John,
And Apostles every one,
(I give you playne warning,)
Had never no such learnynge,
As hath this famous clarke.
He is lerned beyond the mark.

10.

And also Mayster Huggarde
Doth shew himself no sluggard,
Nor yet no drunken drunkard;
But sharpeth up his wyt,
And frameth it so fyt,
These yonkers for to hyt,
And wil not them permit
In error styl to sit.
As it may wel appeare
By his clarkly answere:
The which intitled is,
Agaynst what meaneth this.
A man of old sort,
And writeth not in sport,
And answereth ernestly,
Concluding heresy.
And yet as I trowe,
Some bluster and blowe
And crake (as the crowe.)
But netts wil we lay,
To catch them, if we may.
For if I begin
I wil bring them in,
And fetch in my cosyns
By the whole dosens,
And call them *coram nobis*,
And teach them *Dominus vobis*,
With *Et cum spiritu tuo*,
That holy be both *duo*,
When they be said and songe
In holy Latine tongue.
And solemne bells be roung.
But these babes be too yonge;
Perking upon their pattins,
And fain would have the mattins,
And evening song also,
In English to be do,
With mariage and baptising,
Burials and other thing,
In volgar tongue to say and sing.
And so they do it newly,
In divers places truly;
Saying, they do but duely;
Maynteining it in any wyse,
So should they do theyr service.

11.

Alass! who would not mone,
Or rather grount or grone,
To se such service gone,
Which saved many one

From deadly sin and shame,
And many a spot of blame,
From purgatory payne,
And many shower of rayne.
Wel, yet I say agayn,
Some honest men remayne,
And kepe their customes stil,
And evermore wil.
Wherfore indede my read is,
To take you to your beadis,
Al men and women, I say,
That useth so to pray,
That such good priestes may
Continue so alway,
Or els none other like,
But al lyeth in the dyke.
And loke ye do not fayut,
But pray to some good saynt,
That he may make restraynt
Of al these straunge fashions
And great abominacions.
Because I may not tary,
I pray to swete Sir Harry,
A man that wil not vary,
And one that is no skulker,
But kna. knyght of the sepulchre,
That he may stand fast,
And be not overcast,
Or els to be the last
Of al them that do yelde
In city, town, or fielde.
For if he stick therein,
No doubt he shal not blin
Tyl he come to eternitie,
With al his whole fraternitie.
Amen therefore, say ye,
That his partakers be.
Ye get no more of me.

K. 39

Queen Katharin Par to the University of Cambridge: which had addressed to her to intercede with the King for them, upon an act, whereby the Parliament had given him all colleges, chantries, and free chapels.

YOUR letters I have receyved, presented on al your behalfes by Mr. Doctour Smythe, your discrete and lernyd advocate. And as they be Latynely wrytten, (whych ys so signifyed unto me by those that be lernyd in the Latyne tongue,) so I know you could have utteryd your desyres and opynions famyliarly in our vulgar tonge, aptyst for my intelligence. Albeyt you seme to have conceyved, rather percyally then truly, a favorable estimation both of my goyng forward and dedycation to lernyng. Whych t'advance, or at the lest conserve, you by your letters move me dyversly: schewynge how agreable yt is to me, beyng in thys worldly state, not onely for myne owne part to be studyous, but also a mayntener and cheryscher of the lernyd state, by beryng me in hand, that I am indued and MSS. penes me.

perfeited with those qualytes and respects, which ought to be in a person of my vocation. Truely thys your discrete and polytike document I as thankfully accept, as you desyre that I schuld imbrace yt. And for as muche as I do wel understand al kynde of lernyng doth florysche amongest you in thys age, as yt dyd amongest the Grekes at Athens long ago, I requyre and desyre you al, not so to honger for the exquysite knowlege of prophane lernyng, that yt may be thowght the Grekes university was but transposyd, or now in England ageyne revyved, forgettyng our Chrystianity; synce theyr excellencye only did atteyne to moral and natural thyngs: but rather I gentylly exhort you to study and apply those doctrynes, as means and apt degrees to the atteynyng and settyng forth the better Chrystes reverend and most sacred doctryne. That yt may not be layd ageynste you in evydence at the tribunal seat of God, how ye ware asschamed of Christes doctryne. For thys Latyne lesson I am taught to say of Saynt Poule, *Non me pudet evangelii.* The syncere settyng forthe wherof I trust universally in al your vocations and mynysteries, you woll apply and confourme your sondry gyftes, arts, and studies, to such end and sort, that Cambrige may be accompted rather an universitie of divine phylosophy, then of natural or moral, as Athens was.

Upon the confydence of whych your accomplyschment to my expectation, zele, and request, I, accordyng to your desyres, attempted my Lord the Kings Majesty for the stay of your possessions. In whych, notwythstanding hys Majesties propertie and intrest throwgh the consent of the high court of Parlement, hys Hyeghness, being such a pa-
40 tron to good lernyng, he woll rather advance and erect new occasion therfor, than confound those your colleges: so that lernyng may hereafter ascribe her very oryginal, hole conservation, and sure stay, to our sovereyne Lord, hys only defence, and worthy ornament: the prosperous estate and pryncely government of whom long to preserve, I doubt not but every of you woll with dayly invocacyon cal upon Hym, who alone and only can dyspose al to every creature.

L.

Queen Katharine to the Lady Wriothesly; comforting her for the loss of her only son.

GOOD my Lady Wresely; Understandyng yt hath pleas-yd God of late to dysinheryte your sonne of thys world, of intent he schuld become partener and chosen heyre of the everlastyng inherytance; (which callyng and happy vocatyon ye may rejoyce;) yet when I consyder you are a mother by flessche and nature, doubtyng how you can geve place quyetly to the same; in as much as Chrystes mother, indued with al godly vertues, dyd utter a sorrowful natural passyon of her sons dethe, whereby we have all obtayned everlastyngly to lyve: therfore amongest other dyscrete and godly consolatyons gyven unto you, as wel by my lord your husband, as other your wyse frendes, I have thowght with myne own hand to recommend unto you my symple consel and advyce: desyring you not so to utter your natural affectyon by inordynate sorow, that God have cause to take you as a murmurer ageynyst hys appoyntments and ordynances. For what is excessyfe sorow but a pleyne evydens ageynst you, that your inward mynd doth repyne ageynst Gods doyngs, and a declaratyon, that you are not contented that God hath put your son by nature, but hys by adoptyon, in possessyon of the heavenly kingdom? Such as have doubtyd of the everlastyng lif to come, doth sorow and bewayle the departure hens: but those whych be persuadyd, that to dy here ys lyf ageyne, do rather honger for death, and count yt a felicite, than to bewayle yt as an utter destructyon. MSS. penes me.

How much, Madam, are you to be counted godly wyse, that wol and can prevent thorow your godly wysdome, knowlege, and humble submyssyon, that thyng that tyme wold at length fynyssche. If you lament your sons death, you do him great wrong, and schew your self to sorow for the happyest thynge ther ever came to hym, beyng in the hands of his best Father. Yf you are sory for your own commodite, you schew your self to lyve to your self. And

41 as of hys towardnes you could but only hope, hys years war so yong; whych could perfourm nothyng, yt semyth that he was now a mete and pleasant sacryfice for Chryst.

Wherfor, good my Lady Wreseley, put away al immoderate and unjust hevynes, requyryng you with thanksgyving to frame your hart, that the Father in heven may thynk you are moost glad and best contendyd to make hym a present of hys spyrytual and your only natural son: gloryfying hym more in that yt hath pleased hys Majesty to accept and able hym to hys kyngdom, then that yt fyrst pleased hym to comforth you wyth such a gyft; who can at hys pleasur recompence your loss with such a lyke juell, yf gladly and quyetly ye submyt, and refer al to hys pleasur.

M.

A proclamation concerning the irreverent talkers of the sacrament. Dated the 27th day of December, anno regni reg. Edward. primo.

Penes Rev. D. Joh. Ep. Elien.

WHERAS the Kyngs Highnes hath of late, with the assent and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the Parlament held the day of in the first year of his most gracious reign, made a good and godly act and estatute against those who do condempn, despise, or with unsemely and ungodly words deprave and revile the holy sacrament of the body and bloud of our Lord, commonly called *the sacrament of the altar:* and the said estatute hath most prudently declared, by al the words and terms which Scripture speaketh of it, what is undoubtedly to be accepted, beleved, taken, and spoken by and of the said sacrament: yet this notwithstandyng, his Majesty is advertised, that some of his subjects, not contented with such words and terms as Scripture doth declare therof, nor with that doctrine which the Holy Ghost by the evangelists and St. Paul hath taught us, do not cease to move contentious and superfluous questions of the said holy sacrament and supper of the Lord; entryng rashly into the discussing

of the high mystery therof, and go about in their sermons or talks, arrogantly to define the maner, nature, fashion, ways, possibility or impossibility of those matters; which neither make to edification, nor God hath by his holy word opened.

Which persons, not contented reverently and with obedient faith t'accept that the said sacrament according to the saying of St. Paul, *the bread is the communion* or partaking *of the body of the Lord: the wine*, likewise, *the partaking of the bloud of Christ*, by the words instituted and taught of Christ; and that the body and bloud of Jesu 42
Christ is there; which is our comfort, thanksgiving, lovetoken of Christs love towards us, and of ours, as his members, within our self; search and strive unreverently, whether the body and bloud aforesaid is there really or figuratively, locally or circumscriptly, and having quantity and greatnes, or but substantially and by substance only, or els but in a figure and maner of speaking; whether his blessed body be there, head, leggs, armes, toes, and nails, or any other ways, shape and maner, naked or clothed; whether he is broken or chewed, or he is always whole; whether the bread there remaineth, as we se, or how it departeth; whether the flesh be there alone, and the bloud, or part, or ech in other, or in th'one both, in th'other but only bloud; and what bloud; that only which did flow out of the side, or that which remained: with other such irreverent, superfluous, and curious questions, which, how and what, and by what means, and in what forme, may bring into theim, which of human and corrupt curiosity hath desire to search out such mysteries as lyeth hid in the infinite and bottomless depth of the wisdom and glory of God; and to the which our humain imbecillity cannot attain: and therfore oftymes turneth the same to their own and others destruction, by contention and arrogant rashnes; which simple and Christian affection reverently receiving, and obediently beleving, without further search, taketh and useth to most great comfort and profit.

For reformation wherof, and to the intent that further contention, tumult, and question might not rise amouges the

Kings subjects, the Kings Highnes, by the advice of the Lord Protector, and other his Majesties councel, straitly willeth and commaundeth, that no maner person from henceforth do in any wise contentiously and openly argue, dispute, reason, preach, or teach; affirming any more termes of the said bl. sacrament than be expressely taught in the holy Scripture, and mentioned in the foresaid act, nor deny none which be therin contained and mentioned; until such tyme as the Kings Majesty, by the advice of his Highnes Council, and the clergy of this realm, shal define, declare, and set furthe an open doctrin therof; and what termes and words may justly be spoken therby, other then be expressly in the Scripture conteined in the act before rehersed.

In the mean while the K. H. pleasure is, by the advice aforesaid, that every his loving subjects shal devoutly and reverendly affirm and take that holy bread to be Christs body, and that cup to be the cup of his holy bloud, according to the purport and effect of t'holy Scripture, conteined in th' act before expressed, and accommodate theimself rather to take the same sacrament worthily, than rashly to entre into the discussyng of the high mystery therof.

Yet the K. H. mindeth not hereby to let or stop the ignorant, and willing to learn, reverently or privatly to demaund of those whom he thynketh knoweth more, the further instruction and teaching in the said bl. sacrament; so that the same be not doen with contention, nor in open audience, with a company gathered together about them, nor with tumult: nor doth prohibite any man hereby likewise so
43 quietly, devoutly, and reverently to teach or instruct the weak and unlearned, according to the more talent and learnyng geven to hym of God. But only, that al contention, strife, and tumult, and irreverentness might be avoyded, and in open audience and preachyng nothing taught but which may have the holy Scripture for warrant.

Upon pain that whosoever shal openly, with contention or tumult, and in a company gathered together, either in churches, alehouses, markets, or elswhere, contrary to the fourm and effect of this proclamation, defend and maintein,

or irreverently and contentiously demaund of any man, any of the questions before rehersed, either on the one part or of the other, or any such like, or do otherwise revile, contempne, or despise the said sacrament, by calling it an *idol*, or other such vile name; shal incurre the Kyngs high indignation, and suffre imprisonment; or to be otherwise grievously punished at his Majesties wil and pleasure.

Gevyng further in auethority to al justices of peace within the shires where they dwel, to apprehend and take al such as contentiously and tumultuously, with companies or routs assembled about them, do dispute, argue, or reason, or stifly mantein, or openly preach and define the questions before rehersed, or any of them, or such like, either on the one part or th'other; and to commit the same to prison, untyl such tyme as the K. M. pleasure herein be known; and that they immediately do certify the name or names of the party so offendyng, and of theim who were there at the same tyme present, makyng the rout or assemble to the K. H. counsel: willying and commaundyng the said justices, with al diligence to execute the premisses, according to the purport, effect, and true meanyng of the same, and their most bound duties, as they tender his Highnes wil and pleasure, and will answer to the contrary upon their peril.

N. 44

A proclamation for the abstaining from flesh in the Lent time. Dated the 16*th day of January*, an. reg. primo.

THE Kings Highnes, by the advice of his most entirely beloved uncle, Edward Duke of Somerset, governor of his person, and protector of al his realms, dominions, and subjects, and other of his Privy Council; considering that his Highnes hath not only cure and charge of the defence of his realms and dominions as a king, but also as a Christian king, and supreme hed of the Church of England and Ireland, a desire, wil, and charge to lead and instruct his people, to him committed of God, in such rites, ways, and

E Biblioth. Rev. Joh. Ep. Elien.

customs, as might be acceptable to God, and to the furth[illegible] encrease of good living and vertue, and that his subje[illegible] now having a more perfect and clear light of the go[illegible] and true word of the Lord, thorow the infinite clemen[illegible] and mercy of Almighty God, by the hands of his Majes[illegible] and his most noble father of famous memory, promulgate[illegible] shewed, declared, and opened unto them, should and ought therby, in al good works and vertues increase, be more forward and diligent and plentiful: as in fasting, prayer, and almose deeds, in love, charity, obedience, and other such good works commaunded to us of God in his holy Scripture:

Yet his Highnes is advertised and informed, that diverse of his subjects be not only to al these more slow and negligent, but rather contempners and despisers of such good and godly acts and deeds; to the which if they were of their own minds bended and inclined, they needed not by outward and princely power be appointed and commaunded. But forsomuch as at this time now alate, more then at any other tyme, a great part of his subjects do break and contempne that abstinence which of long tyme hath been used in this his Majesties realm, upon the Fridays and Saterdays, and the tyme commonly called Lent, and other accustomed tymes; his Highnes is constreined to se a convenient order herein set and appointed: not mindyng therby that his subjects should thynk any difference to be in the days or meats, or that the one should be to God more holy, more pure, or more clean then the other; for al days and al meats be of one and equal purity, cleannes, and holines, that we should in theim and by them live to the glory of God, and at al tymes and for al meats geve thanks unto hym, of the which none can defile us at any tyme, or make us unclene; being Christian men, to whom al things be holy and pure, so that they be not used in disobedience and vice; but his Majesty hath allowed and approved the days and tymes before accustomed, to be continued and still observed here in this Church of England; both that men should on those days abstein and forbear

their pleasures, and the meats wherin they have more delight: to the intent to subdue their bodies unto the soul 45
and spirit: unto the which to exhort and move men is the office of a good and godly hedd and ruler:

And also for worldly and civil policy, certain days in the yere to spare flesh, and use fish, for the benefit of the commonwealth, and profit of this his Majesties realm: whereof many be fishers, and men using that trade of living, unto the which this realm, on every part environed with the seas, and so plentiful of fresh waters, doth easily minister occasion; to the great sustinaunce of this his Highnes people. So that hereby both the nourishment of the land might be encreased by saving flesh, and specially at the spring tyme, when Lent doth commonly fal, and when the most common and plenteous breedyng of flesh is; and also, divers of his loving subjects have good lyvyngs, and get great riches therby, in utteryng and selling such meats as the sea and fresh water doth minister unto us; and this his Majesties realm hath more plenty of ships, boats, crayes, and other vessels, by reason of those which by hope of lucre do follow that trade of livyng.

Wherfore his Majesty, having consideration, that where men of their own mynds do not geve themselfes so oft as they should do to fastyng, a common abstinence may and should be by the prince enjoyned and commaunded, and having an ey and mind to the profit and commodity of his realm and subjects, and to a common and civil policy, hath willed and commaunded, and by these presents doth wil and commaund, by th'advice aforesaid, al maner of person and persons, of what estate, degree, or condition he or they be, (other then such as already be, or hereafter shal be excused by law, or licensed or authorized sufficiently to the contrary,) to observe and keep from hencefurth such fastyng days, and the time commonly called Lent, in absteining from al maner of flesh, as heretofore in this realm hath been most commonly used and accustomed: upon pein that whosoever shal, upon any day heretofore wont to be fasted from flesh, and not by the K. H. or his predeces-

sors abrogate and taken away, eat flesh contrary to thi proclamation, shal incurr the Kings high indignation, and shal suffre imprisonment, and be otherwise grievously punished at his Majesties wil and pleasure.

And further the Kings Highnes, by the advice aforesaid, straitly chargeth and commaundeth al maiors, bailiffs, and other hed-officers, and rulers of cities and townes, and al justices of peace in the sheres where they be in commission, to be attendant and diligent to the execution of this proclamation; in committing to prison the offenders contrary to the proclamation, upon sufficient proof therof by two sufficient witnesses, before them had and made: there to remain during the Kings pleasure, according to the true purport, effect, and meanyng of the same; as they tender the K. M. wil and pleasure, and wil answer the contrary at their peril.

And where the late King of most famous memory, father to his Highnes, hath given divers yeres licence to his subjects, in the tyme of Lent to eat butter, chese, and other meats, commonly called *white meats*, the K. H. by th'advice aforesaid, considering the same to have been doen not
46 without great considerations, doth geve likewise licence and aucthority to al his loving subjects from hencefurth freely for ever in the tyme of Lent, or other prohibited tymes by law or custom, to eat butter, eggs, chese, and other white meats, any law, statute, act, or custome to the contrary notwithstandyng.

O.

A proclamation against such as innovate any ceremony, or preach without licence. Dated the 6th of Febr. an. reg. primo.

Ubi supra. THE K. H. by the advice of his most entirely beloved uncle, the Duke of Somerset, governor of his most royal person, and protector of al his realms, dominions, and subjects, and others of his Council; consideryng nothing so much to tend to the disquietyng of his realm, as diversity

opinions, and variety of rites and ceremonies, concerning religion and worshiping Almighty God; and therfore studying al the ways and means which can be, to direct this church, and the cure committed to his Highnes, in one and most true doctrine, rite, and usage:

Yet it is advertised, that certain private curats, preachers, and other laymen, contrary to their bounden duties of obedience, do rashly attempt, of their own and singular wytt and mynd, in some parish churches, and otherwise, not only to persuade the people from the old and accustomed rites and ceremonies, but also themself bringeth in new and straunge orders, every one in their church, according to their phantasies; the which, as it is an evident token of pride and arrogancy, so it tendeth both to confusion and disorder, and also to the high displeasure of Almighty God; who loveth nothing so much as order and obedience.

Wherfore his M. straitly chargeth and commaundeth, that no maner person, of what estate, order, or degree soever he be, of his private mynd, wil, or fantasy, do omyt, leave down, chaunge, alter, or innovate any order, rite, or ceremony, commonly used and frequented in the Church of England, and not commaunded to be left down at any tyme in the reign of our late soveraign Lord his Highnes father; other then such as his H. by the advice aforesaid, by his Majesties visitors, injunctions, statuts, or proclamations, hath already, or hereafter shal commaund to be omitted, left, innovated, or chaunged: but that they be observed after that sort as before they were accustomed, or els now sith prescribed by the auethority of his M. and by the means aforesaid: upon pein, that whosoever shal offend contrary to this proclamation, shall incurr his H. indignation, and suffre imprisonment, and other grevous punishments at his M. wil and pleasure.

And to th'intent, that rash and seditious preachers should 47
not abuse his H. people, it is his M. pleasure, that whosoever shal take upon hym to preach openly in any parish church, chappel, or any other open place, other than those which be licensed by the K. M. or his H. visitors, the

Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bp. of the diocese where he doth preach, (except it be the bishop, person, vicar, dean, or provost, in his or their own cure,) shal be furthwith, upon such attempt and preaching contrary to this proclamation, committed to prison, and there remain, until such tyme as his M. by th'advice aforesaid, hath taken order for the further punishment of the same.

And that the premisses shuld be more spedily and diligently done and performed, his H. geveth straitly in commaundment to al justices of peace, maiors, sheriffs, constables, hed-borows, church-wardens, and al other his M. officers and ministers, and rulers of towns, parishes, and hamlets, that they be diligent and attendant to the true and faithful execution of this proclamation, and every part therof, according to the intent, purport, and effect of the same; and that they of their procedyngs herein (or if any offender be, after they have committed the same to prison) do certify his H. the Lord Protector, or his M. Council, with al spede therof accordingly, as they tender his M. pleasure, the wealth of the realm, and wil answer the contrary at their uttermost perills.

P.

The King's commission for redress of enclosures.

EDWARD the Sixth, &c. to our trusty and wel beloved Sir Frauncis Russel, kt. Foulk Grevyl, kt. John Hales, John Marshe, William Pynnocke, and Roger Amys, gretyng. Where, as wel in the fourth year of the reign of the most noble Prince and our graundfather, K. Henry VII. and in the seventh, the twenty-fifth, and twenty-seventh years of the most excellent Prynce of famous memory, and our most dearly beloved father K. Henry VIII. many good, wholsome, and profitable laws were, by the universal consent of al the whole realm, made for restitution, preservation, and maintenance of the state and policy of the same: and namely, for the maintenance and keeping up of houses of

husbandry; for advoiding destructions, and pulling down of towns for inclosures, and converting of arable ground into pastures; for limiting what number of sheep men should have and keep in their possession at one time; against plurality and keeping together of farms; and for maintenance of hospitality, housekeeping, and tillage, on the scytes, and precincts, and demeasnes of such monasteries, priories, and religious houses, as were dissolved by act of Parlament made in the said xxviiith year of the reign of 48
our said most dearly beloved father, as in the same statutes it doth and may more at large appear: which statutes have not wrought th'ffect that was hoped should follow: partly for that the same, for fear of displesure, and chiefly through the corruption and infection of private lucre grown universally among our subjects, were not put in execution: by reason wherof the force and puissance of this our realm, which was wont to be greatly feared of al foreign powers, is very much decayed, our people wonderfully abated, and those that remain grievously oppressed; the price of al things exceedingly encreased, and the common sort of our subjects brought to and kept in extreme misery and poverty: to the great hindrance of the glory of God, our dishonour, and the subversion, utter undoing, and decay of this our realm, if speedy remedy be not provided:

We, coveting above al things the glory of God, by whose goodnes we be brought and maintained in this royal estate and dignity, and the wealth and saveguard of our realms and subjects committed to our charge; having conceived a good opinion, that you be men that love and fear God, and desire the maintenance of our honor and savety, and tender the universal wealth of this our realm and subjects; by th'advice and consent of our most dearly beloved uncle Edward Duke of Somerset, governor of our royal person, and protector of al our realms, dominions, and subjects, and the rest of our counsellours; have appointed and assigned you six, five, four, three, or two of you, our commissioners: to enquire by the oaths of twelve good and leful men of our counties of Oxford, Bark, Warwick, Leycestre, Bedford,

Buck, and Northampton, and every of them, as wel within the liberties as without, and by al other ways and means that you can devise, wherby the truth may the better appear, of al and singular transgressors, breakers, and offenders of the said statutes, or any of them, or any part or parcel of them, and of al and singular articles and circumstances conteined in the instructions hereunto annexed.

And therfore we straitly charge you and every of you, as ye wil answer to us, God, and the commonwealth of this our realm, that you diligently attend and apply the premisses, and execute the same earnestly and with effect.

We also streitly charge and command our sheriffs and justices of our peace of our said shires, excheators, and al and singular other our officers, ministers, and subjects, that from time to time, and at al times, they be attendaunt, aiding and assisting you in th'execution of the premisses. And that the said sheriffs from time to time do cause to come and appear before you six, five, four, three, or two of you, at such times and places as you shal appoint, as many and such good and leeful men of their bailifwick, by whom the truth may be the better known and come to light, in and concerning the premises, as you shal think requisite and necessary. And we wol and command also, al and singular keepers of our records in al and every our courts, and the clarks and ministers of the same courts, and every of them, that upon your our said commissioners, or
49 two of your letters to them directed, they from time to time do make out in writing, and deliver unto you with al expedition, the copies of al and singular such our records, as ye or two of you shal think meet and requisite for the better execution of this our commission.

And further, we give unto you six, five, four, three, or two of you, ful power and authority to commit to ward al and singular persons, whom ye shal find rebellious, disobedient, stubborn, obstinate, hindring, or letting by any means, the execution of this our commission; there to remain without bail or mainprize til our plesure be further known. And what ye shal do in the premisses, we wol that

ye certify us in our Court of Chancery indelayedly, together with this our commission: in witnes wherof we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witnes our self at Westminster, the first day of June in the second year of our reign.

Q.

The charge of Mr. John Hales, one of the commissioners, at their assembly for the execution of the commission for redress of enclosures.

LIKEWISE as when a man is very sore sick, and in daunger of his life, if he send for a physician who studieth and taketh great pains for his health, and prepareth wholsome and healthful medicins; yet if he do not receive them, they can do him no good; even so, good brethren, when any inconveniences, mischieves, and hurts happen in the commonwealth, if the Kings Majesty, his Council, and the Parlament with their great study, toyl, and labour, prepare and make never so good laws to resist and put them away; yet if they be not received, obeyed, nor put in execution, they do not profit. Experience declareth the same to be most true. There have been many good laws made for the maintenaunce of houses, and husbandry, and tillage, as in the 4th year of the reign of K. Henry VII. and the 7th year of the reign of the Kings Majesties father, and in the 25th year of his reign: that no man should keep upon his own lands or farms, or upon his farms only, above the number of two thousand sheep. And in the same year, that no man should have and occupy any more than two houses of husbandry in one town, parish, or hamlet. And in the 27th year of his Graces reign, that those that should have the scites of any of the monasteries that were suppressed by act of Parlament, being under the yearly value of three hundred marks, should keep honest and continual house and household upon the same, and occupy as much of the demeasnes in tillage, as was occupied by any means with MSS. penes Amic.

tillage within twenty years before the same act. Yet because the same laws were not reverently obeyed, and obedi-
50 ently observed, we se they do little or no good. Towns, villages, and parishes do daily decay in great numbers; houses of husbandry and poor mens habitations be utterly destroyed every where, and in no smal number; husbandry and tillage, which is the very paunch of the commonwealth, that is, that that nourisheth the whole body of the realm, greatly abated; and finally, the Kings subjects wonderfully diminished; as those can wel declare that confer the new books of the musters with the old, or with the chronicles.

And al this groweth through the great dropsy and the insatiable desire of riches of some men, that be so much given to their own private profit, that they pas nothing on the commonwealth: they love themselves so much, that they forget their neighbours and Christen brethren: they remember not that we be members of one body, and that if every member should pul and snatch from the other as much as he could, al the whole body must needs perish. Surely, good people, if the medicins that be prepared already, to resist, remove, and heal this most hurtful disease of the commonwealth, *privat profit*, I cal it, that is to say, the laws, be not justly and truly put in execution; it is to be feared, yea, it is most certain, that within short time we shal have no commonwealth, but rather, for lack of people to defend us against our enemies, we shal be a prey for them. Is it not a pitiful hearing, good people, that man, which was ordeined of God to be a comfort for man, and as it were *a god*, (as the proverb is,) that is to say, ordained to do good, is now clean changed, and is become a wolf, a devourer and consumer of men; one that cannot be contented that his neighbours should live with him and by him?

Verily, good people, if men would consider by natural reason what hurt followeth therby, not only to others, but what at length shal chance to themselves, it is to be thought that they would not so much give themselves to self love and their own profit. What shal it profit the rich man to have his chests ful of gold and silver, if he lack meat and

drink? This the poor husbandman doth provide. What can his riches avail, if his enemies go about to assault or invade him? He must have other to help, or els he cannot resist: which in this realm hath always, til of late, been the commons of the realm. And by reason they be now greatly decayed and diminished, a great occasion wherof hath been the destruction of their houses and habitations, and the great dearth and prices of victual without any just cause, hath the Kings Majesty that dead is, and the Kings Majesty that now is, was and is forced to send for and hire strangers, Almains, Italians, and Spanyards. This thing also caused the King that dead is to make so many castles and bulwarks by the sea side as he did. And his charges by these means and occasions waxing daily greater and greater, he was of necessity driven to ask and take so great subsidies and taxes of his subjects as he did: which I doubt not but ye do and wil consider. And whensoever the Kings Majesty shal have need of your aid and help, either with your persons or with your goods, ye wil gladly, like most faithful and loving subjects, declare the same. But what availeth 51
the rich man to have his felicity and heaven in this world, and to have infelicity and hel in the world to come?

The parable that is recited in the gospel of the rich man and the poor lazar, if we did wel consider of it, would make al men tremble, that be so given to the inordinate desire of riches. But it is to be feared, that a great many think not that there is any other world. If they did, they would do otherwise than they do. Or else they think, as we were made to believe in time past, that if we live never so leudly, do never so much evil, they shal with masses and other mens prayers after their death purchase heaven: which persuasion and doctrin, as it was most ungodly, and contrary to Gods word, so it was most hurtful, and the destruction of every commonwealth. It is even the right way to let in al vices, and to put out al vertue: for vices be more agreable with our corrupt nature than vertue. And surely, if men mark wel the course of the world, they shal easily perceive, that this great greedines is plagued here in this world of

God. We se a great many given to this filthy desire of gathering together goods, and yet God wil not suffer them to enjoy the fruits therof, and to use it to their commodity. Some be sick, and wil scarce spend one peny to recover their healths. Some scarce once a week wil refresh their bodies with a good morsel of meat, if they shal pay for it themselves. And others spare, to thintent they would leave great possessions to their children, and make their family noble. But we se, how *man purposeth and God disposeth*, as the old saying is. Many times such men have children, that, before their fathers be scarce laid in the grave, consume and wast away on harlots, unthrifty games, and lewd company, that the father got before in long time and with great penury. Evil gotten, worse spent. It is no strange thing. Such evil heirs be no black swans or white crows, but almost as common as white swans or black crows. The just plague of those that pas not how their children be brought up, so they may leave them goods and lands enough.

For Gods sake, good people, let us take heed; let us not provoke the ire and plague of God on us; but having received the knowledg of his word, let us live accordingly. Let our good living and works appear to the world. Let our love and charity be abundant to our poor neighbours; that other men may speak wel of us, and say no longer, that we be talkers of Gods word, and no followers. If we do not, no doubt but he wil take that his most holy word from us, and give it to a people that shal bring forth the true fruit of it. And then wil he plague us with sword, famine, and pestilence, as he hath promised those that do not esteem, but contemne his word. Let us begin, good people, to strive who may do most good; and let us no longer study how to do our neighbours and our country harm. Let us have this godly opinion with us, that nothing can be profitable that is not godly and honest; nor nothing godly and honest, wherby our neighbours and Christen brethren, or the commonwealth of our country is hurted or harmed. Let us endeavour and give our selves to the obedience and observation of good laws, and no longer to the imagination

and practice, how to subvert and break good laws. Let it 52
appear, that we desire and follow that that is good, for the love that we bear to good, and not for fear of the laws or punishment.

Howbeit, as we hear, there be a great many that now fal in disputation, whether these statuts be necessary or profitable for the commonwealth, and so to make controversy: but it becometh no honest subject so to do; when laws be made, we may not disobey them. If we should, and permit to every mans judgment what is good, what is evil, we should never be in certeinty. But because there be some, that neither have the fear of God before their eyes, nor yet of the laws, they be so drowned in covetousnes, and this insatiable desire of the vile muck of this transitory world; not passing how they come by it, so they may have it: the Kings Majesty being the life, heart, and head of this realm, and of us his subjects, the Lord Protectors Grace, and the Lords of the Council, considering that his Majesty is the minister of God here in earth, and hath the sword, that is, authority given him of God to punish those that wil not do willingly that that is good and godly, minding the preservation and wealth of this his realm, and that his poor subjects should not be oppressed by the rich, and intending to set such an order and stay in the commonwealth, as the poor with the rich, and one of us with another, may live together every man in his degree and vocation; hath sent us here among you, and layd upon us a very great burthen, to se his commission diligently and earnestly executed, even as we wil answer to God, his Highnes, and the commonwealth of his realm.

And by thauctority therof we have sent for to appear before us, and have sworn you, not by *al saints*, but as ye trust to be saved by the merits of Christs passion, to make diligent enquiry and true presentment of such things as we shal charge you with. Wherunto we require you al, specially you that be sworn, to give diligent and attentive ear, that ye may the better do your office and duty.

[Then was read the commission and proclamation. And then Mr. Hales proceeded, as follows:]

Good people, by this commission and proclamation ye may perceive the zele and love that the Kings Majestie, the L. Protectors Grace, and the rest of his most honorable Council have to the commonwealth of this his realm and us his subjects. By the same also ye may perceive generally the cause of our coming, and your assemble here. And albeit it extendeth to five principal points, that is, for the decay of towns, villages, houses of husbandry, converting arable ground into pasture, the multitude of sheep, the heaping together of farmes, the not keeping hospitality and household on the scites of the monasteries and religious houses that were dissolved by statute made in the xxviith year of the reign of the Kings Majesty that dead is, and occupying of tillage on the demeans of the same monasteries: yet doth al together shoot but at one mark, and prick but at one prick; that is, to remove the self love that
53 is in many men, to take away the inordinate desire of riches wherewith many be cumbred, to expel and quench the insatiable thirst of ungodly greedines, wherewith they be diseased, and to plant brotherly love among us, to encrease love and godly charity among us, to make us know and remember that we al, poor and rich, noble and ignoble, gentlemen and husbandmen, and al other, of whatsoever state they be, be but members of one body mystical of our Saviour Christ, and of the body of the realm.

For as by natural experience we find it to be true, that if any one part of a mans body be grieved, or the bloud by any maner of means be let, that it cannot come to it, it is a great pain to al the whole body; nor is it lusty and able to do his office: so ought we to consider and remember in the state of the body of the realm; if the poorest sort of the people, which be members of the same body as wel as the rich, be not provided and cherished in their degree, it cannot be but a great trouble of the body, and a decay of the strength of the realm. Surely, good people, methinketh

that if men would know how much this ungodly desire of worldly things, and the unleful getting and heaping together of riches, were hated of God, how hurtful and dangerous for the commonwealth of the realm it is, and what a vertue the mean in al things is; these laws, nor a great many more that be, needed not. Gods word is ful of threats and curses against these kind of greedines. "Woe be unto "you," saith he, "that cannot be contented that other men "should live with you and by you; but put men from their "livings, join house to house, and couple field to field; "what do you mean? Think ye to live alone in the midst "of the earth? No, no, the people be mine. I have a care "and respect to them, I wil not suffer them to be devoured "at your hands. It is not your policy, it is not your craft, "it is not your riches, that is able to defend you against me. "I have the cure of the poor people; I am their defender; "I am their ayder; and I wil not suffer them to perish. "If ye be not good to the poor, I wil not be good to you. "If ye labour never so much, and have not my help, your "labour is but in vain. When ye look for plenty, I wil "send scarcity. For it is not your labour, but it is my "blessing, which falleth on them that do my commandments "and wil, that maketh plenty of al things."

One of the causes why God plagued and burned the great city of Sodom was, the greedines of the rich men, and the little mercy, pity, and compassion they had to their poor neighbours: they thought al too little for themselves. Therfore, good people, let us consider and remember it. Let us not willingly go about to provoke the ire and plague of God on us. Let us remember, that our time in this world is but short. Let us use this short time to Gods honor and glory. It hath pleased him to send among us the light of his gospel, which doth teach us how we should love, honor, and trust in him; how we should and ought to love our neighbours as our selves. Let us not go about to gather things together with the hurt of any other: for it is prohibited both by Gods laws, the law of nature, and mans law. Let it not appear that we have received the grace of God, and

54 the knowledg of his word in vain; but let our doings be so charitable, that al the world may se and perceive that as Gods word doth teach us to be al one, so we be al one: wherby we may provoke those that now hate Gods word, to love and embrace the same, and to glorify God with us.

Thus have ye heard, good people, how much God abhorreth this greediness, and how he hath in time past, and hereafter intendeth to punish the same. Now wil I tel you partly how hurtful it is to the commonwealth. Likewise, as it hath pleased God to make the body of divers parts and members, and every part and member hath his distinct and proper office, as to the ey to se, the nose to smel, the ear to hear, the tongue to speak, the hand to feel, and the feet to go; so hath it pleased God also to ordeine in the commonwealth divers degrees of people; some to be governours, rulers, and defenders of it, as the Kings Majesty, his Council, and nobility and gentlemen, and others, to be his victuallers and purveyors of things necessary for the use and sustinence of man, as craftsmen and husbandmen. And as if my hand, or any other member of the body, could by his craft or policy, as they cal it, find the means to get the bloud of al the rest of the members to it, it should be an occasion that al the whole body, should shortly perish; so likewise, when men in a commonwealth go about to gather as much as they can, and to get it they care not how, not considering whether by their gain any hurt should come to their neighbours or to the commonwealth; not only others, but they themselves should shortly perish. What availeth a man to have his house ful of gold, and be not able to keep it with his force against his enemies? So what shal al our goods avail us, if we be not able to defend us from our enemies?

The force and puissance of the realm consisteth not only in riches, but chiefly in the multitude of people. But it appeareth, good people, that the people of this realm, our native country, is greatly decayed through the greedines of a few men in comparison, and by this ungodly means of gathering together goods, by pulling down of towns and houses, which we ought al to lament; where there were in

for years ten or twelve thousand people, there be now scarce four thousand; where there were a thousand, now scarce three hundred; and in many places, where there were very many able to defend our country from landing of our enemies, now almost none. Sheep and cattle that were ordeined to be eaten of men, hath eaten up the men; not of their own nature, but by the help of men. Is it not a pitiful case, that there should be so little charity among men? Is it not a sorrowful hearing, that one Englishman should be set to destroy his countryman? The places where poor men dwelt, clearly destroyed: lands emproved to so great rents, or so excessive fines taken, that the poor husbandmen cannot live. Al things at this present, saving corn, (which by reason that is in poor mens hands who cannot keep it, is good cheap,) be so dear as never they were: victual and al other things that be necessary for mans use. And yet, as it is said, there was never more cattle, specially sheep, than there is at this present. But the cause of the dearth is, that 55
those have it that may chuse whether they wil sel it or no; and wil not sel it but at their own prizes. Al corn would be likewise, if it were in their hands, and might be wel kept.

Therfore the Kings Majesty, by th'advice of my Lord Protectors Grace, and the rest of the Council, thinking that if these laws might be put in execution many things amiss in the commonwealth should be reformed, hath sent his commissioners into these parties: wherupon we have caused you to appear before us, and have sworn you, requiring to give good ear to your charge.

Instructions given by the Kings Majesty to his commissioners, appointed for the execution of certain statutes made in the fourth year of the reign of K. Henry VII. and the seventh, the twenty-fifth, and the twenty-seventh years of the reign of K. Henry VIII. to be inquired of in the shires and places in the commission hereunto annexēd, expressed.

First, Ye shal enquire what towns, villages, and hamlets

have been decayed and laid down by inclosures into pastures, within the shire contained in your instructions, since the fourth year of the reign of K. Henry VII.

Item, What lands were then in tillage at the time of the said inclosure, and what then in pasture.

Item, How many plows, by reason of the said inclosure, be laid down.

Item, How many meases, cottages, and dwelling houses be fallen in decay, and the inhabitants of the same departed from their habitation there, by reason of the same inclosure; and how much land belonged unto the said tenants.

Item, By whom the said inclosures were made, and how long agone; and if they were made within the same time; and of what yearly rent and profit they be.

Item, Who hath now the state of inheritance, and the profits of the same inclosure; and of whom the lands be holden.

Item, How many new parks be now made sith the said time.

Item, What arable land, at the time of the making the said parks, were imparked within the same.

Item, How many ploughs, houses, and inhabitations be decayed by imparking of the said ground.

Item, How many parks within the said shire be enlarged sith the said time; and how much of the same ground was then arable and put in tillage.

Item, How many ploughs, houses, and inhabitations be decayed by reason of the said imparking.

Item, If any person hath or doth keep above the number of two thousand sheep, besides lambs of one years age; and whether he hath kept the same upon his own lands, or upon his farm lands, or upon both, or otherwise by covyn or fraud; and how long he hath kept them.

56 *Item*, How many sheep ye think have been necessary for the only expences of such persons household for one year.

Item, If any person hath letten any lands to farm, or by copy of court-rol, reserving the sheep pasture of the same to himself; or if any person hath taken from his tenants their

commons, wherby they be not able to breed and keep their cattel and maintain their husbandry, as they were in time past.

Item, If any person hath had or occupied above the number of two houses or tenements of husbandry lying in one town, village, hamlet, or tithing; and how long he hath occupied the same.

Item, Whether such person hath taken the same in farm, for the term of life, years at wil, by indenture or copy of court-rol or otherwise, sith the feast of the Nativity of our Lord God *millmo quingentesimo tricesimo quinto;* and where such person dwelleth.

Item, If every person, body politic or corporate, that hath, by gift, grant, lease, or demise, the scite or precinct and demeasnes of any monastery, priory, or religious house, dissolved by vertue of the act of Parlament made in the 27th year of the reign of the King that dead is, do keep an honest continual house and houshold in the same scite or precinct, and do occupy yearly as much of the same demeasnes, in ploughing and tillage of husbandry, as was commonly used to be kept by the governours, abbots, or priors of the same houses, monasteries, or priories, or by their farmour or farmours occupying the same, within the time of twenty years next before the making of the same statute.

Item, That you, our said commissioners, for your better instructions, take with you the copies of al such offices as were found concerning the premisses in the ninth and tenth years of the reign of our most noble father K. Henry VIII.

These be our instructions, and the articles of your charge generally; howbeit we think it very good to open it more specially. For as there be many good men, that take great pains to study to devise good laws for the commonwealth; so be there a great many, that do with as great pains and study, labour to defeat them; and as the common saying is, to find gapps and starting holes. But first, to declare unto you what is meant by this word *inclosures*. It is not taken where a man doth enclose and hedge in his own proper ground, where no man hath commons. For such inclosure

is very beneficial to the commonwealth; it is a cause of great encrease of wood: but it is meant therby, when any man hath taken away and enclosed any other mens commons, or hath pulled down houses of husbandry, and converted the lands from tillage to pasture. This is the meaning of this word, and so we pray you to remember it.

To defeat these statuts, as we be informed, some have not pulled down their houses, but maintain them; howbeit no person dwelleth therin; or if there be, it is but a shepheard or a milkmaid, and convert the lands from tillage to pasture: and some about one hundred acres of ground, or more or less, make a furrow, and sow that; and the rest they
57 till not, but pasture with their sheep. And some take the lands from their houses, and occupy them in husbandry; but let the houses out to beggars and old poor people. Some, to colour the multitude of their sheep, father them on their children, kinsfolks, and servants. All which be but only crafts and subtilties to defraud the laws; such as no good man will use, but rather abhor. For every good man wil direct his study to observe the laws, rather than break them, and say with himself thus: I know the makers of these laws meant good to the commonwealth. Men be but men, they cannot se al things; they be no gods, they cannot make things perfect. Therefore I wil rather do that they meant, altho' without danger of the law I might do otherwise, and I will withal my heart do good to my country, albeit it be against my private profit, rather than hurt it. And therfore if there be any such that use these tricks, albeit they be not comprehended in the letter of the law, I pray you let us know him, and present you his name.

Thus have we declared unto you the causes of our coming and your assemble here: which is only to enquire of such things as we have been charged with. If ye wil do your office therein as becometh good men, that is to say, without partiality or favour, accuse and present those that be to be accused and presented for offending of these statuts; and in these enormities, we doubt not but ye shal do

God as great and as acceptable sacrifice as may be. For hereby shal his glory, and the frut of his word, which is charity and love to our neighbours, be published and set forth to the world; ye shal do the King the greatest service that can be devised. For hereby his people and subjects (in the multitude of whom his honour and safty consisteth) shal be encreased; and ye shal shew your selves good members of the body and the commonwealth of the realm, that covet and desire as much the wealth and commodity of your Christen brethren and neighbours, as ye do your own.

Besides, it is not unlike but that these great fines for lands and emprovement of rents shal abate, and al things wax better cheap; xx and xxx eggs for a peny, and the rest after the rate as hath been in times past; and the poor craftsmen may live, and set their wares at reasonable prices; and noblemen and gentlemen that have not emprowed nor enhaunced their rents, nor were sheep-masters, nor grasiers, but lived like noblemen and gentlemen, shal be the better able to keep good hospitality among you, and keep servants about them, as they have done in time past. And that, sith ye shal thus serve God, the King, and the commonwealth, ye wil put away al fear of any person, land lord, master, or other. For God, the King, and the commonwealth, if ye serve them truly and faithfully, as they be able to defend you against the Devil, the world, and private profit; so may you be sure they wil suffer no person to do you injury. And considering the manifold benefits that may come by truly executing therof, we also require and advertise you, that for no favour ye go about to excuse or leave unpresented those that ye may know to have offended: you shal do your selves much hurt by running into wilful perjury; and indeed nothing profit them whom ye intend 58
to gratify. For we our selves, if need shal require, wil take the pains to view every thing particularly.

And therfore for Gods sake, good people, do as becometh honest men, declare the truth, and nothing but the truth. And on th'other side, we require you on Gods behalf, com-

mand you in the Kings name, and exhort you as your friends, that ye wil not abuse this the great goodness of God, the Kings Majesty, and his high Council herein offered; that is to say, that ye make not this godly thing an instrument of malice, to be revenged on any man to whom ye bear displesure: for things grounded on malice, God wil never suffer to prosper. Besides, we charge you and command you al, that be present on the Kings behalf, and that ye likewise charge al your neighbours that be absent, that ye nor none of them go about to take upon you to be executors of the statuts; to cut up mens hedges, and to put down their enclosures, or by any ways to hurt them. For this is not your office to do. Ye shal highly offend God, break the Kings laws, and be an occasion that that good that might, and is like to follow, shal not take place, nor come to that good end that is desired. But let it appear to the world that ye desire a charitable and quiet reformation by the order only of the law, whereunto we ought and be bound to be obedient. Be ye not breakers of the law, while ye go about to have vices reformed by the law. Accuse and present you justly those that be offenders of these statuts. For this is only our duty to wil you and yours to do, and let the law work his effect, power, and office afterward.

And by this means we trust in God, that as it hath pleased him to put into the Kings and his Councils heads to begin this matter, so wil he give them grace to finish and accomplish the same; and to do greater things to his glory, the Kings honor and safty, and the universal benefit of us al. And unles we wil shew our selves unkind, we cannot but honor God, and give him thanks, that it hath pleased him to send us such a King, such a Protector, and such a Council, that only be bent and enclined to do the people good. Doubtles, good people, where the people love and honour God, favour and embrace his word, and live accordingly, to them doth God send good and gracious rulers. And on th'other side, where they favour not, nor love his word, to them he sendeth unpitiful and hard rulers, such as only shal seek their own plesures, benefits, and commodities,

a passing on their poor subjects. And therfore, good people, let us love, favour, and embrace Gods word, which thing only is the cause that this godly act is set forward: it is the general comfort of al Christian men, and specially of the poor: it forbiddeth the rich to oppress the poor, and biddeth and commandeth him to be merciful to him: it declareth us to be members of one body, and biddeth us to live together like brother and brother: it teacheth the magistrates their offices towards their inferiors, and commandeth al people to be obedient to their superiors: it sheweth how God rewardeth weldoers both here and with everlasting felicity, and punisheth malefactors both in this world and with eternal damnation. And therfore, good people, let us not only love and embrace Gods word, but also al such as be the furtherers, preachers, and teachers hereof. Thus I make an end, and God save the King.

R. 59

A discourse made by William Thomas, esq. for the King's use; whether it be expedient to vary with time.

WHAT time is, Solomon, in the third of Ecclesiastes, doth sufficiently describe, including al things under the sun within time. And as Petrarch saith in the Triumph of Time, Cott. Libr. Vespas. D. 18.

Passan votre grandezze, e vostre pompe,
Passan le signorie, passano i regni:
Ogni cosa mortal tempo interrompe.

Wherfore seing time is both the father and devourer of al things, and consequently that nothing is to man more precious than time; it followeth, that he who in time can take his time, is most happy in this world. But because we se the world to depend in maner altogether upon contraries, as rest and moving, lack and having, light and darknes, white and black, silence and noise, sweet and sowre, hot and cold, light and heavy, soft and hard, moist and dry, with infinite others, in such wise as every thing hath his contrary; ther-

fore it seemeth a great difficulty unto man, (as indeed it is) how among so many discords he may gather any profit of his time.

For when al is reckoned, no man findeth thing in this world more joyful, nor more acceptable unto him, than *prosperity*; which he esteemeth so much, that he refuseth no labour, nor in maner any peril to attain it: and yet hath this prosperity proved such a lyer, flatterer, and deceiver of men, that when they have most rejoyced and trusted in it, even the prosperity it self hath been cause of their extreme sorrow and adversity; as by infinite examples it is manifest. How suddenly was the glory of Balthazar, in the fifth of Daniel, plagued of God.

For indeed this prosperity (or humane felicity, as ye list to cal it) is not esteemed prosperity til it be at the highest; and then it semeth of ordinary, that when we reckon to be most happy, suddenly some contrary happeneth: so that the esteemed prosperity encreaseth the adversity, and is rather a beginning of mishap than any felicity indeed: which th'astronomers ascribe unto the planets, because al things in earth, as they say, are governed by the motions of the stars. And as when they be in a sextile or trine aspect they are accounted prosperous, so in the quadrate or opposite they are unfortunate. And their courses being such as in a moment they leap from one to the other, it is no mervail (say they) tho mens fortune do semblably vary.

Philip, king of Macedon, when he had in one day gotten the victory in the Olympiades playes, and in the battail both, prayed God to recompence that great hap with some
60 small evil: wherupon he was by chance shot into the eye with an arrow, and so lost his eye; accounting himself happy in the midst of his prosperity to encounter with a smal misfortune. For as the stone that is thrown into the air falleth the more vehemently the higher he is thrown; so most commonly it fareth by mans prosperity, the higher he seemeth to climb, the greater is his overthrow. And if in prosperity (to the which al men covet to aspire) we find this difficulty or peril, wherunto then shal man apply his time?

Traly as the musician useth sometime a flat, and sometime a sharp note, sometime a short, and sometime a long, to make his song perfect; so, saith Macchiavegli, ought man to frame his procedings unto his time. And albeit that man cannot so directly concord them, as to make them always agree, like the musicians divers notes, because some men are led of vehemence, and some of respect and fear, in the one or other wherof al men most commonly do err; yet he is to be esteemed the wisest and happiest man, that in proceding maketh least discords with time. And as the physician to the remedy of sickness ministreth unto his patients both medecins and diets, other than they should receive when they were whole; so man in his affairs should procede according to his time, altering as the occasion requireth; and not to persevere obstinately in one opinion, how good or how profitable soever it had proved in other time before.

Fabius Maximus (of whom I have spoken heretofore) was for his time a wonderful captain, and the whole preservation of the whole commonwealth, because his fortune was to spring in a time conformable to his nature. For Annibal being newly arrived in Italy with a couragious army, and having obtained the victory of sundry sore battails, was not any more to be foughten withal, as wel for the respect of his own encreased strength, as for the weakness of his often abated enemies: so that against him in that time there was none so meet a captain as Fabius; who with prolonging of time decreased Annibals treasure and power. But afterwards, when the Romans were at a better stay, and able as wel to offend as to defend, then was Scipio sent into Afric with an army, to bring those wars to an end; which his time and fortune served him to do. And yet was Fabius at that time of opinion, that Scipio should not go, cleaving always to his own maner of proceding: so that if Fabius had then been prince or governor, in such sort as his opinion must have had place, Annibal might for him have been yet in Italy. Wherin they do commonly err, that have before prospered in their opinion. The hap wherof maketh them so to hope the like, that in maner it shal be impossible to dis-

suade them: which indeed is one of the greatest causes of the common mishapp that followeth prosperity. For when men wil observe one direct, or (as I may cal it) obstinate proceding, if the time come that shal require the contrary, it followeth their proceding much perish.

I mean not, that any man should vary in amity, turn from vertue to vice, or to alter in any such thing as requireth constancy; but touching the other publick or private doings, I think nothing more necessary than to *vary with the time.*

61 Alexander the Lacedemonian, being a notable valiant prince, used nevertheless in al his doings more policy than force: wherof his familiars would sometimes reprove him, saying, that he degenerated from Hercules, of whom he was descended. But he smiling would answer, "That where "he could not play the lion, it was no shame to play the "fox:" which of some men is condemned as a vile and vitious thing. For Quintus Curtius, upon the answer of Alexander the Great unto Parmenio, maketh a great discourse; declaring how Parmenio counsilled Alexander to oppress his enemy by policy. Wherunto Alexander answered, that if he were Parmenio he would so do, but being Alexander, it behoved him liberally to fight, and justly to overcome.

Indeed, whensoever a prince may openly without peril attain either the victory over his enemy, or his purpose with them that be indifferent, his proceding ought to have no craft. But when either his power serveth not, or that his contrary practiseth subtilly, (as most commonly princes do at these days,) then, meseemeth, policy is no vice: for al men are not Alexanders. No, nor Alexander was not himself at length. Even as he was to be commended in the vertuous overcoming of his enemy, (if vertue it may be called,) when his power served him therunto; so was he to be dispraised in the unnatural misusing of his friends, when with them and by their help he had passed so many perils. Wherfore at length his own prosperity bred his own destruction.

Philip de Comines writeth, that at the treaty of the peace

beside Conflans, Lovys the XIth French king, and the Count Charolois, son to the Duke of Burgoigne, met simply in the fields: and walking together alone, in treating of the matter, the King led the Earl into a bulwark of his before Paris, or ever the Earl took heed: and nevertheless agreed with him, and sent him back again unto his army, that then was wonderfully disturbed for his absence and danger. The courtesy wherof, as I believe, encouraged the same French King afterwards to put himself in the Duke of Burgoigne's power at Peronne; where he found great cause to repent him of his folly: for whilest he lay in the castle, the Duke was in a thousand thoughts, whether he should retain him still, or do worse. And if the King had denyed any of his requests, it had indeed proved evil with him.

Thus it appeareth that no man ought with his own nature to mesure the nature of another man; and especially of princes, who are not reckoned wise, when they lose either time or advantage. And therfore Philip de Comines alloweth them not to meet togithers, unles it be in youth, when their heads are given to pleasures. But in cases of treaty for peace, in time of war, or for interest in time of peace, when the power of the one may be suspect to the other, let never princes meet. No, the jealousy of estate is so great, that when a prince may advoide any peril either by foresight or by policy, let him never tempt God, for miracles are rare.

Isabell Queen of Naples, being expulsed the realm by the first Alphonse, then intitled king therof, made recourse unto Eugeny, then bishop of Rome, for aid to recover her estate: who in her favour sent a patriarch, called Vitelesco, 62
with men of war against Alphonse. And albeit the patriarch for a while prospered; yet at length near unto Salerno, the King gate him in such a straight, as neither he nor his could escape. Then fell he to treaty, and promised the King al his request: wherupon truce was taken, and he let go. But immediately after, knowing the King upon trust of the truce to be void of suspicion, he turned so suddenly upon him, that on Christmas-day, the King being at

mas, word came that the patriarch was at hand, which notwithstanding, the King of superstition would needs hear his mas; and so obstinately persevered, that the patriarch came indeed, fought with the Kings guard at the church door, slew divers of them, took al the Kings plate and cariages, and so hotly pursued the King himself, that with much ado he escaped to Capua.

Wherin like as the patriarch shewed himself a true member of the wicked church, so did the King err in two ways: first, in suffering the enemy to escape, when he had him at the advantage; and after, in tempting God with a trust that needed not. As Cicero saith, *Ne offeramus nos periculis sine causa.*

Wherfore among princes, of al things the time and advantage is to be observed, in such sort as having the enemy at an afterdeal, either constrain him by force to yield unto thy profit, or deal with him so liberally, that he may both know what case he is in, and how much kindnes thou deservest of him. Which latter almost is not to be used; because princes have less confines to their wills, and less amity to their neighbours, than in time past hath been accustomed.

Titus Veturius Calvinus, and Spurius Posthumus, being consuls of Rome, happened with both their armies to arrive in a vally called Caudina, where their enemies, the Samnites, stopped the straights in such sort, as Livy writeth, that the Romans, lamenting their misfortune, said, *Ne ferrum quidem ad bene moriendum oblaturus est hostis: sedens bellum conficiebat.* In which case the Samnites, astonied with their unhoped fortune, wist not what counsil to use. Wherfore Caius Herennius, their captain, sent home to his father, Herennius Pontius, an aged wise man, to hear his opinion: who understanding the case, answered, they should freely let the Romans go, without offending them in any thing. Which advice the Samnites liked not, and therefore sent to him again: then he bad cut them al to pieces, and let not one escape. These two answers, so contrary, made them believe he doted, by reason of his age. Wherfore they sent for him, and being come, asked what he meant. Mary,

quoth he, if ye do the first, your liberality shal establish a perfect peace and amity with a people more puissant than your self. And if ye do the second, destroying these two armies, ye abase their power, so that in many years they shal not again be hable to annoy you. Other council, quoth he, I know none. And being then demaunded, what he thought of a mean between these two extremities, in letting them go upon such covenants as are wont to be taken of men overcome; he answered, So shall ye neither purchase friends, nor rid you of enemies: for ye preserve them that ye have 63
offended; yea, and further provoke them with shame. And it proved true indeed: for it had been better for the Samnites at that time to have been discomfited of the Romans in battail, than to have let them go as they did, with so shameful a peace, as by the proces of the history it appeareth.

In effect, it fareth with princes in this case, as in expences it fareth with the prodigal man: who of his treasure gathereth but thanks, and perchance scorn; and when he hath al spent, his most gain is miserable pity. Wherfore the wise prince loseth neither his time nor advantage; as K. Edward III. when he had lien a year before Calais, and was challenged by the French King to fight, answered, "No; "I have lien here these twelve months to my great charges: "and if I should now put that in adventure that I am sure "of, I should commit a great folly." Which answer proceded not of cowardise: for before that time he refused not the fight at Vironfosse, nor the battails of Cane, Blanchetake, nor Cressy; but he would loose neither the time he had spent there, nor the advantage of winning the town, which within few days after was yielded unto him. And albeit that he varied from his nature to refuse any fight, yet because the time required so, it was rather honorable than otherwise.

Loose therfore neither advantage nor time, the winning wherof is accounted the greatest matter among princes; like as the loss is by example proved to be of no less moment. And let him not think to prosper in this world, that wil not *vary* in his procedings according to the time: for as there

is nothing more pleasant than the concord of musick, nor nothing more displeasant than the discord therof; so when doings and time agree, there is nothing more happy, nor when they disagree, nothing more unhappy; having in them much more variation than tunes in music have.

S.

A second discourse made by the same person, for the King's use; whether it be better for a commonwealth, that the power be in the nobility or in the commonalty.

Cott. Libr. Vespasian, D. 18.

THE people of every monarchy, or realm, is divided in two parts: th'one *nobility*, and the other *commonalty*. In whom be two repugnant desires: the one to rule, and the other not to be ruled. And because the desire of them prevaileth in whom the power consisteth; therfore our question is, to whom the power is most convenient for the commonwealth.

Upon which question dependeth this other; whether is more prejudicial to the commonwealth, the nobleman that
64 seeketh to maintain his estate, or the unnoble that seeketh to attain nobility. Or whose desire is the greater, his that hath already, and feareth to loose, or his that hath not, and coveteth to gain.

In effect, it hath been proved, that the desire of both is equal: for he that hath, thinketh he cannot safely enjoy his own, if he get no more; and he that hath not, must of necessity seek to have. And tho this desire be equal in its self, yet are the effects therof unequal: for he that hath, may gain with ease; wheras he that hath not, cannot wel gain without travail. In which travail consisteth the ground of al civil policy.

For if the needy might attain their things without travailing for them, or the wealthy find none ease in the riches that they have travailed for, then should the world become barbarous for lack of travail.

Wherfore like as it is necessary to constrain the needful to travail, even so it is requisite to maintain him that by travail hath deserved rest, in power to rest: for of diligence and travail nobility is grown. And as long as either the nobleman or the unnoble seeketh to maintain or attain by due means, so long is neither of them noisome to the commonwealth. But whensoever either of them seeketh his purpose by power, and so grow into parties; then is the party of the *commons* the more dangerous, for three especial causes, that is to wit, their inconstancy, peril, and ignorance.

First, That the multitude is most inconstant, it is evident: for among many men are many opinions; which breedeth confusion. And tho by persuasion or necessity they may agree, yet is it impossible their agreement should long continue. As for example.

In the beginning of the third book of the third decad of Titus Livius, I read, that after the battail of Trasimene, when Annibal came before Capua, the commons of that city had their senators and magistrats in such contempt, that the best of the town feared to be slain, and so the city to be yielded unto Annibal. Of which matter Livy beginneth on this wise: *Inde Capuam flectit iter, luxuriantem longa felicitate atque indulgentia fortunæ; maxime tamen inter corrupta omnia licentia plebis, sine modo libertatem exercentis.* Insomuch that Pacuvius Calavius, one of the nobility there, to save both the senate and the city, and to win the people, devised this subtilty. First he persuaded the *senators* to be ordered by him, and so locked them up togithers in the senate house. Then he called the *commons* unto him, making an oration to this effect, that he knew the just hate they bear against their rulers, which moved him to procure a mean, how they might without their own peril be avenged on them. Wherfore by his own policy he had made them sure in the senate, and would bring them forth to be punished at the peoples judgment, according to their demerits: wherof the people wonderfully rejoiced. But then he persuaded them it was necessary to do two things at once: one, to dispatch the old senate, and the other, to choose a new se-

nator or ever they executed the old. Wherupon he caused the senators names to be put into a pot, and so taken out by one and one at adventure.

65 The first senator, whose name happened to be drawn, was brought forth, and with an open cry of the people condemned. Now, quoth Pacuvius, ye have judged him, choose one in his place. Of which election Livy writeth thus: *Primo, silentium erat inopia potioris subjiciundi. Deinde, cum aliquis, omissa verecundia, quempiam nominasset, multo major extemplo clamor oriebatur, cum alii negarent nosse, alii nunc probra, nunc humilitatem, sordidamque inopiam, et pudendæ artis aut quæstus genus objicerent. Hoc multo magis in secundo ac tertio senatore factum est.* So that at length, for want of better, they were contented to keep their old, and to stand to Pacuvius his discretion. And to this effect infinite examples may be alledged, that nothing is more inconstant than the multitude.

Then for the *peril*, none is to be compared to the frenzy of the people: for like as if a mad man get the sword in his hand, he is like not only to mischief other, but also himself; even so fareth it by the commons. If they once attain the power, they destroy both the nobility and themselves. Example of the Jaquerie that sprang in Beauvoisine and other countries of France, the year 1358; of whom Froisard, in the 182 chapter of his first volume, saith these words: "These mischievous people, thus assembled without capitain "or armure, robbed, brent, and slew al gentlemen that "they could lay hands on, and forced and ravished ladies "and damoisels, and did such shameful deeds that no hu-"mane creature ought to think on any such. Which rage, "if they had prevailed in, they would at length have con-"verted upon themselves, when the gentlemen had been "utterly destroyed." I might bring a number of examples, as wel of our own nation as of others, to this effect, but none more cruel than the Jaquerie.

Thirdly, for *ignorance*; the multitude utterly knoweth nothing. And tho some examples of good succes may be alledged for the popular estates; yet, if they be wel sought,

shall appear they never proceded of wisdom, but of necessity. And then comparing th'inconveniences that happened before the necessity to the successes that have followed, it shal be found that the wisdom, learned of necessity, is dearly bought. Even the Swizzers, that destroyed their gentlemen in a day, and that now glory most in their popularity, both have had of late years, and must needs have lately, the like ill fortune that hath happened unto Athens, Florence, and such other.

Wherfore I determine, it is impossible any estate should long prosper, where the power is in the commonalty. For like as it becometh neither the man to be governed of the woman, nor the master of the servant, even so in al other regiments it is not convenient the inferior should have power to direct the superior; because that of power procedeth commandment, and of commandment execution.

It may be said, it hath been often seen by experience, that through the covetousnes of the nobility the commons have been oppressed; so that for the disordinate appetites of a few, the multitude hath suffered: which seemeth a greater evil than that the few should suffer for the multitude. Wherfore, if the power were in the commonalty, the magistrates would always be the more careful to bridle the 66
excesses of the nobility, and to advance the public wealth: which argument indeed were very good, in case they would always maintain their civil laws, and the orders of their magistrats inviolate. But what popular estate can be read that hath thirty years together eschewed sects, sedition, and commotions, in such sort as once within thirty years the whole estate hath not been in danger of subversion? And then must I ask, whether is more pestilent to the commonwealth, the tyranny of a few, or the subversion of the estate?

I must confess there be two notable evils that in manner grow of ordinary in the nobility: with the one wherof the commons are offended, and with the other grieved. The first is ambition, and the second tyranny, which are both so united, that lightly thone followeth thother.

Whensoever the nobleman or magistrate useth the place of his calling for himself, without regard to the inferior, then waxeth he ambitious: the maintenance wherof ingendreth tyranny; that is to say, practise of unlawful gain, or cruel handling of his inferiors.

Wherfore Macchiavegli, in his discourses of the liberty of a commonwealth, determineth that in cases of extremity, where the magistrats or nobility use this tyranny, the commotions of the people are necessary, to mitigate the excess of the great mens ambitions.

And in the greatest extremities, indeed, it seemeth to have some reason; as in the necessity of the poor Athenians, when Solon was made prætor; or the like of the Romans, when they rebelled, and went to the Holy Hil, where Menenius Agrippa appeased them. But otherwise the ambition and tyranny of the nobility were much more tolerable than the insolence, inconstancy, peril, and ignorance of the multitude. For these faults of the nobility are nothing comparable to those of the commons; and especially in that the estate remaineth with them always inviolate. Wheras if the multitude prevail once in power, al goeth to confusion: the estate is subverted, every mans property, his possession and goods are altered, and they themselves never return to order, but by necessity.

In the monarchy or estate of a prince, if the prince be good, like as he keepeth his commons void of power, even so he preserveth them from the tyranny of the nobility; for he is the same bridle in power over his nobility, that the nobility is over the commons, and tendeth as wel to the rule of the one, as to the preservation of the other.

And tho he were a tyrant, yet I say his tyranny is more tolerable than the tyranny of the nobility of the estate of *optimates;* where, instead of one, there be many tyrants: for the property of a tyrant is, not to suffer within his power any mo tyrants than himself. And if the tyranny of the nobility, as I have said before, be more tolerable than th' insolence of the multitude, much more tolerable then is the princes tyranny than the commons power.

Wherfore I conclude, that it is better for the common- 67
wealth the power be in the nobility, than in the commonalty.

Neither do I mean, that for the dangers rehearsed, the commons should be so kept down, as the wretched commons of some other countries be. But I would their disciplin and education should be such, that the only name of their prince should make them to tremble. Which they should never regard, if either the power were in them, or that they feared not a superior power. For if they have but so much liberty as to talk of the princes causes, and of the reason of laws, at once they shew their desire not to be ruled: wherof groweth contempt, and consequently disobedience, the mother of al errors.

T.

A third political discourse made by William Thomas, esq. for the King's study; entitled, What princes amity is best.

AMITY, or friendship, (as Cicero defineth it,) is the perfect concord of al divine and humane things with benevolence and charity. And he saith, that, wisdome excepted, he knoweth not whether the immortal gods have given unto man any better thing: for it maketh the prosperous things more resplendent, and adversities the more easy. And if it were possible for the princes of these days to use that amity that some princes have don, as we read of Massinissa and Scipio, and of other, then it were no need to talk of other amity, than of that sweet private amity that Cicero so wel hath described. And without further question, that princes amity were best, in whose heart those rules were written. But the perverse nature of men in this time doth scarcely permit any perfect amity. Wherfore to treat of the *politic* amity, that is to say, the accustomable amity that may be had; it is first to be considered, to what end the amity of foreign princes doth serve, and what need one prince hath of the others amity. Cotton Librar. Vespasian, D. 18.

Truly, if it be wel considered, tho there be many causes

to be alledged, why it behoveth princes to have amity, yet al should tend but to one end, that is to say, to maintain their own: for the fruit of the foreign princes amity consisteth in two points.

One, in giving aid to resist an enemy, *ut sine injuria in pace vivatur;* and the other in relieving his friends country with those commodities that it wanteth. Both which, as I have said, tend to that end that is rehersed before. And because few princes are of themselves hable to maintain their own, if they want friendship of other princes, therfore it followeth, this friendship to be very necessary. For it hath been often seen, that princes and other estates have been often brought to that point for lack of friends, that having to do with such as were more puissant than themselves, they neither could maintain peace nor sustain war.
68 In which case either they must throw themselves into their laps that shal help them, or must become a prey to those that do assault them.

And this happeneth through lack of foresight; when the prince or estate hath not mesured their forces with their doings. As Livy writeth of the Latins in the eighth book of his first decad; *jam latio is status erat rerum, ut neque pacem neque bellum pati possent.* By reason that through lack of friends to aid them, the amity and the inimity of the Romans was indifferent unto them. For if they had peace, their conditions were intolerable; and their impotency in the war made them at length fal into thraldome.

But leaving the examples of people that had no prince, we may read, as wel of our own histories as of others, what inconveniences have happened to them that have wanted foreign friendship.

How often did the Danes in King Egberts time invade this realm, spoil it, and ransome it? How many doubtful and bloudy battails were foughten between our nation and them in the fift year of Alureds reign? What made King Etheldred flee into Normandy, leaving his crown to the possession of Suono, or Suanus, a Dane? And had William Duke of Normandy been hable to expulse Harold King of

England, and to enjoy the crown, if Harold had any strange friend? If I should follow on with like examples, where the estates been utterly subverted and altered from one nation to another, (much through the lack of friendship,) I should be over tedious. But this I find, that tho there be many causes to be alledged in the subversion or alteration of estates; yet one of the greatest is the lack of princes amity.

Wherfore determining, that, among the great cares that princes ought to have for the preservation of themselves and their estates, this amity, spoken of before, should not be the least; we must now examine what princes amity is best. In which behalf four things are worthy of consideration; the propinquity, the antienty of friendship, the religion, and the nature of the prince, whose amity is sought.

First, for *propinquity*. Albeit that it is both profitable and commendable to have the amity of al princes; yet it is evident that the neighbours amity is to be preferred before the strangers. And herein lyeth a question, whose amity is the better: his that may most annoy, or his that may most assist. For a mean prince that is a neighbour, may annoy more than a puissant prince that dwelleth far off. And such a puissant prince again may by contrary means assist more than the mean neighbour prince.

In effect, it hath been ever proved, that th'amity of him which may most annoy is to be preferred. For by this amity ye do not only advoid the daunger of that annoyance that he may do, but ye also may have his aid to joyn with yours; which, though it were but mean in respect of the far princes power, must nevertheles be such an help as may serve the turn more readily. And the amity of far-princes hath ever been proved so uncertain, that a smal power of the neighbour hath been most commonly preferred before it. Wherfore, like as th'amity of a private neighbour is unto every private man, for his domestick affairs, more necessary than th'amity of a stranger; even so in estate, th'amity of 69
the neerest prince is more convenient than of him that is distant.

For proof wherof, in the last wars between the Emperor and French King, Barbarossa, the Turks admiral, with an army of 8000 Turks, landed in Provence; being sent at the French Kings request from the Turk to aid him against the Emperor. As for the Turks puissance, I need not to reherse it. And the French Kings folly in this behalf declared itself. For when he thought the Emperor too strong for him, he made account, that matching himself with one of more puissance, he should the rather suppress his enemy. But because he considered not, that a strange prince upon an uncertain hope would be loth to adventure any great power of his so far from him, that their return should be either desperate or doubtful, therfore he failed in his imagination. For the Turks sent him but a smal power, more for a continuance of amity than for amity indeed. That army travailed far, put the French King to great charges, discovered his country, and did him no service. So that it was *magis nomen quam præsidium.*

The contrary wherof proved with the Emperor, who through the amity of his neighbour, the King of England, invaded France, and compelled the French King to conditions of advantage.

For antient or long *continuance* of amity: what prince soever abandoneth the antient amity between him and another, or between his family and another, putteth himself to great adventure, and may be after a maner resembled to Esops water dog, that coveting the shadow lost the flesh. Because that unto amity there is none so great a minister as tyme: which being once violated, without time again cannot be recovered. And seeing that in princes affairs, many times a new friendship one way engendreth breach in old amity another way, it cannot be chosen but the defiling of that amity must breed extreme displesure in the prince that receiveth the injury: whereof followeth the mortal hatred of an antient assured friend, for the uncertain amity of a new reconciled foe.

The example wherof hath been wel seen in Lotis Sforza, late Duke of Milain: who, through his unkind dealing with

the Venetians, antient approved friends unto his family, fel into the hands of the last Louis French King: in whose prison he finished his miserable days.

For *religion*, it is necessary the princes that will observe amity be of one opinion: otherwise it is impossible the amity should longer continue than necessity compelleth th'one or th'other to maintain it. For where are contrary opinions of religion, there can be no long agreement. And there is no prince nor private man so simple, as, if it lay in his power, would not compel the whole world to believe as he doth.

Indeed the Turk within his dominions compelleth no man to alter his religion: by reason wherof he is the more able peaceably to enjoy so large an empire. But if he thought he might bring al men to Mahomets law, (as he seeth the contrary,) he would use that rigor in religion that he doth in other things. And there was never greater folly imagined, than the French Kings device of amity with the Turk. For if the Turk observe not faith to the princes of his 70
own religion, but destroycth as many as come once under his power, what faith or amity can he bear to a Christian prince? So that if by the Turks means the French King might have extirpated the Emperor, (which was the end of this desired amity,) his own destruction must have followed. For with the Turk, *nulla sancta societas, nec fides regni est.*

Finally, for the princes *nature;* if he be a good prince, his amity must needs be preferred before the amity of a tyrant. Because th'one doth that willingly, that the other never doth but of necessity.

Wherfore I conclude th'amity of that prince to be best, who is neerest neighbour, most antient friend, aggreable of religion, and good of nature.

At the least, if these four cannot be found in one prince, then I think his amity best who is endued with most of them.

V.

Mr. Thomas's fourth discourse to the King; touching his Majesty's outward affairs.

WHAT case your Majesties estate is in, I doubt not but your self doth understand. And tho I know there be a number about your Highness hable both to care for the remedy of that that is amiss, and also to prevent the imminent perills necessary to be foreseen: yet because, me seemeth, some dul effects prove in things that ought to have greater life; therfore, having discoursed somewhat on *tyme*, my bounden conscience provoketh me to utter mine opinion in present things: which I most humbly beseech your Majesty to accept, as offered, not of any purpose, either to prefer mine inventions before the doings of wiser men, or to accuse any for neglecting their duties in these cases; but only of the earnest affection I have both unto our commonwealth, and also unto your Highnes, on whom our wealth dependeth.

Time was, in the days of your father of famous memory, that this estate, being dread of al our neighbours, needed not to esteem any of them more than itself was esteemed. But now the case is so altered, that because we are both hated and contemned of them al, we, for lack of our own estimation, must either esteem them or redeem our estimation, or els perish.

And because there be infinite reasons that threaten us with war almost on every hand, therefore it is to be foreseen, (as I have written in the discourse of princes amity,) that we fal not into such a war, as either we must be a prey to th'enemy, or els throw our selves into the lap of a dear pur-
71 chased friend: th'one or other being equally prejudicial unto us. For the remedy wherof, one of two things must be won; either friendship to help us, or time to make our selves strong.

As for friendship, I se not which way any is to be gotten, without either our extreme disadvantage, or the denying of our faith: neither of which is tolerable. And as I believe it

is impossible we should have any perfect amity with any foreign prince that dissenteth from us in religion; so because we have no neighbour of uniform religion, I determine we can find no friend whose amity is to be trusted.

Wherfore we must of force turn us unto *tyme*, to se how much we may win therof, and what we may win withal. And because neither is our force so ordered, that we may trust therby to win our tyme, nor our treasure such as may purchase it; therfore our extremest shift is to work by policy.

We have two puissant princes to deal withal; the French King, a doubtful friend, and the Emperor, a dissembling foe. The one hath don us already displesure; and the other we are sure wil do it, if he can. For what quarrel hath he to the Germans, but religion? Wherin he hath sworn rather to spend his life, than not to reduce it to his own maner. And when he shal have overcomen those few that rest, (which are of smal account in respect of his power,) where shal he end his fury, but against us?

I wot wel some are of opinion that Maydelburgh, with the confederate cities, shal keep him occupied a while. Some other add, that the Germans are not yet won to the papistical sect. And some other reckon upon the Turks comming into Hungary. Al which (say they) are impediments sufficient to occupy the Emperors mind from meddling with us. I like those reasons wel; beseeching God they may prove as true as they be spoken. But I am persuaded, by arguments of greater efficacy, that the Emperor esteemeth this matter of Maydelburgh very little, and much les the Germain Protestants, and least of al the Turk. The reasons wherof are too long now to discourse. So that I fear me, he shal have sooner brought his purposes those ways to pass, than we shal be wel advertised of it. Wherfore, think I, we have great cause to mistrust both his practices and himself.

On the other side, the French King is already in the possession of Scotland, and practiseth in Ireland amongst a people that loveth liberty; and that for every smal hope of

gain wil be ready to revolt. Wherin if he should prev[illegible] might reckon our selves besieged. So that, the one and o[illegible] reckoned, we are not only abandoned of al friends that [illegible] stand us instead, but in maner invironned of enemies.

Thus I have cast the peril of the worst, to the intent th[illegible] worst might be provided for: for the best will help it self.

And because the time doth yet serve us to practise, having no enemy that hitherto hath taken his sword in hand; therfore, as we may now common to put them in hope of things that we mean not; and therby win time both to provide us of mony, and to order our men: so when time shal
72 draw either of their swords, and we unprovided, (as presently we are,) then must we either perish, or be a prey to th'one of them, or at the best receive intolerable conditions. For say what men wil, our power without some friendship is of smal substance; yea, tho we were al as good subjects as Edward III. had; wheras now I fear me, there be as wel hollow as whole hearts to be found.

And albeit that our quarrel is in God, and God our quarrel, who never faileth them that trust in him; yet forasmuch as wickednes reigneth in the midst of us, like as we should not mistrust the goodnes of God, so ought we neither to neglect that policy that may help us to advoid the like captivity that for wickednes happened to the elect people of Israel.

And this is my device,

Your Majesty shal either write or send some trusty man with credit to the Emperor, declaring unto him (as he knoweth already) in what sort the French King hath obtained Scotland, and how he practiseth in Ireland; purposing in your tender years to oppress the realm and subjects. And albeit ye mistrust not the Emperors perfect and sincere amity, &c. yet to the end ye would join in a streit maner, ye would gladly know what his Majesty would require of you; or covenant, that if the French King should now break with your Highnes, ye might be sure he would also break with France on his part, and generally be friends to friends, and enemies to enemies.

No doubt he would harken to such a message, and with the first would demaund alteration of religion: which I think should be the principal point in the treaty on his part. Wherfore, as the time served, I would wish the communication therof not to be refused, and the matter to be assembled, with such practises of delays as may best serve to the winning of time: wherof your Majesty shal gather two commodities.

One, that by keeping the Emperor in hope of alteration, he may cease from working of that mischief towards you and your realm, that the mean time he would surely go about.

And the other, the French King may have cause so to doubt this league, that I believe he shal not offer to disturb you; which indeed were a great matter. By means wherof your Majesty should not only get time more and more to establish religion within your realm, but also to put your subjects in a readines, and to provide you of mony against the time of hostility. And if the time may so long be won, that the Emperor dy, whose life cannot long endure, your Majesty shall not only be free of this practise, but also free of France, who surely shal have enough to do that way.

As for the French King, we have peace with him, and no cause of breach: but if he pick a quarrel to break, his hope of gain shal be so great, that I se no reasonable overture of our part sufficient to appease him. And then it is necessary to threaten, that ye would rather yield in conditions to the Emperor, than endure so unjust a war as he for greedines shal begin. And if you doubt of that agreement stop 73
him not, I cannot devise what should stay him but our own weapons.

For Scotland, I have no hope of good but one, that the governor by our comforts may be inticed to take the crown upon him. If he, as he may be thereunto persuaded, we shal not only establish a puissant friend to our selves, but also a perpetual enemy to France. The compassing wherof had need to be handled both very secretly and prudently.

For Ireland; if there be just cause of suspicion that any

of those lords should revolt, let some means be devised to call them, or the chief of them, hither, as shortly as may be. And here let them be wel entreated, til the next summer be spent; in which time their troth shal be tryed: and beside that, their entertainment may alter their malice, if there be any; or at the least establish their allegiance.

For Denmark; albeit the King is of our religion, and the country both, yet they were never our friends. And unles we were more hable with money to hire them, than the Emperor or French King are, let us never hope good of them. For naturally they are given to the gain; and of al spoils, they desire the spoil of our nation. So that with little mony they may be hired against us, where a great deal of our mony shal scarcely cause them to sit stil. Nevertheles I think it were not amiss to practice with them, as long as it turn not to our disadvantage.

Objections that may be argued to the contrary.

To my device of practice with the Emperor, I may be answered, that it is dangerous for three causes.

One, that the knowledge of this practice shal encourage the Papists of this realm to be the more obstinate.

Another, if it be known to Maydelburgh, and the other powers that presently defend our religion, it shal be both a discourage to them, and a slander to us.

And third, that when the Emperor shal perceive our dalliance with him, it shal set him al on fire, where now he is but warm.

To the first, I reply, that if we quailed in our proceedings at home, the Papists might take courage; but following earnestly as we have begun, let them hope what they wil, the end shal change their minds. And the mean while, they shal neither do nor talk.

And to the second, tho' we would, we are not able to aid Maydelburgh, and their fellows, as well for the distance as for our own necessity; having enough to do to save our selves. So that they can take no *discourage*, where they can hope no succour. And for slander, it can be none, un-

as the slanderous effect follow; which shal be no part of our meaning. And if we esteem the worldly fame, at the worst the greater number (I mean the Papists) shal praise us for the time.

To the third point, the Emperor is already so warm, that if his fire might kindle us, we should al burn, and look for none other, but whensoever his time seemeth, he will make us smoak indeed. Wherfore, if any thing be to be won of 74
him, it is only time; which shal be evil handled if it be not drawn one twelve or fifteen months long. And if we begin not this practice, or Maydelburgh be won, the Emperor wil afterward procede with us by a maner of commandment, rather than by treaty. For when the sword is shaken over our heads, then shal it be too late for us to talk: at the worst, what hurt can we take by this practice? Common as much as they list, as long as they be not able to compel us, so long we need not to yield in any thing unto them. And if they may compel, then there is no boot. So that wheras good may come to us of our practice divers ways, I cannot se which way any hurt may grow of it at all.

For Scotland, it may be said, what peril were it, if the French King should know our practice, and take displesure against us? I answer, the same peril that he is in with us, for practising in Ireland, being such as ye may be sure shal be no cause of war. Yea, it may happen to set such a broyle between the governor and him, as may bring them by the ears indeed. And as for the conquest of Scotland, let us never look for it. For if we were not able to conquer it, when we had to do with it alone, much les able are we now, when we must either conquer France or forbear Scotland.

Mary, for the Irish lords there is peril, unles the matter be so handled, that they may come by way of treaty, devised upon persuasion of amity. Which, if it may be brought to pas, shal serve much to the purpose. Otherwise it may be the cause to make them revolt, if they perceive themselves once to be suspected.

For the realm withinwards.

Two things are principally to be applyed; the readin of men, and a mas of mony.

Preparation doth not only discourage the enemy, but also encourage the subject: who sustaining a suddain war unlooked for, waxeth immediately timorous; where being warned, he waxeth hardy.

A people in Illyria, called Acarnani, were threatned to be destroyed by their neighbours the Ætoli; insomuch, that desperately they armed from the age of fifteen to sixty, as many as could bear armour, swearing never to return vanquisht: and did not only covenant, that if any fled from the battail, they should neither have lodging nor victual with any of the nation at home; but also prayed their neighbours, the Epiroti, that if they were slain in the battail, they would bury them al in one place with this epitaph, *Hic siti sunt Acarnani, qui adversus vim atque injuriam Ætolorum pro patria pugnantes, mortem occubuerunt.* By reason of which determination, the Ætoli, for al their puissance, gave them over, and suffered them to live in quiet. And so it fareth by them that in like extremities do valiantly provide for the worst.

Wherfore mine opinion is, that your Majesty should immediately cause muster to be taken throughout the realm, to se first what every man can make. And let nothing be undon that may serve to have men ready in al events, tho'
75 ye should never need man. At the worst this one profit shal grow of it, those subjects that have their heads occupied with civil commotions, mistrusting some outward war, shal the les think on their mischief at home. And the outward enemy shal have les mind to offend, where he seeth preparation of defence.

On the other side, let no way be omitted that may bring in *mony*, to make such a mas as may serve the need. And when ye have it, spend no peny of that proportion, whatsoever shift be made for your ordinary charges. This don, I think your enemies shal either suffer your Majesty in peace, or at the worst have smal advantage of you in war.

I have said my foolish opinion touching your Highnes exterior affairs; I shal eftsones humbly beseech your Majesty, if I have spoken any thing imprudently, to take my simple meaning in good part. For as my desire is to advaunce your Highnes affairs, if it lay in my power, so if on my advice any contrary succes should happen, my meaning shal deserve no blame.

There be things also in the present civil governance that in mine opinion might be amended: wherin if your Majesty command me, I shal gladly utter what I think.

W.

William Thomas, esq. to the King; touching the reformation of the coin.

To the Kings Majesty.

UPON Friday last Mr. Throgmerton declared your Majesties plesure unto me, and delivered me withal the notes of certain discourses: which, according to your Highnes commaundment, I shal most gladly apply to send you one every week, if it be possible for me in so little time to compas it. As in very deed it were more than easy, if the daily service of mine office required not that great travail and diligence that it doth.

And because he told me your Majesty would first hear mine opinion touching the reformation of the *coin*, albeit that I think my self both unmeet and unhable to give any judgment in so great and weighty a matter, without the counsil and advice of others, yet since it is your Highnes plesure to have it secret, which I do much commend, I am therfore the bolder to enterprize the declaration of my fantasy; trusting that upon this ground better devices and better effect may ensue, than my head alone can contrive.

And because Mr. Throgmerton is absent, I have delivered it thus sealed to Mr. Fitz-Williams to deliver unto your Majesty, as it were a thing from the Council; assuring 76

your Highnes, that no creature is or shal be privy either to this, or to any of the rest, through me. Which I do keep so secret to this end, that your Majesty may utter these matters as of your own study; wherby it shal have the greater credit with your Council.

As for the danger to be author of a new thing, (which when the turn cometh I shal declare at length,) I have a wonderful confidence of surety in your goodnes. But at the worst, I esteem my life les than the service of my Prince and country.

I need not to reherse the private respects that should move your Majesty to the reformation of your coin: but if there were no mo reasons, meseemeth the necessary satisfaction of your people in one kind is a sufficient argument.

Plato, in his dialogue of *Hipparchus De Lucri Cupiditate*, affirmeth, that al men naturally desire gain; and after this maner he proveth it, *Omnes homines bonum appetunt. Et quia lucrum utile est, utile vero bonum, omnes natura lucrum appetunt. Quodque hæc appetitio naturalis laudanda est.*

I wil not dispute of the difference, ordinate and disordinate in this desire. But it is manifest, that al men desire gain; and when they want the chiefest thing they covet to gain, then their desire kindleth, and becometh vitious; which engendreth infinite inconveniences.

Now to prove that your Majesties subjects want their most desire, I think that no man wil deny that gold and silver are the sweetest fruit of al gain; not for its self, but because the having and use therof bringeth man in maner to every thing that he desireth. And because there is no one thing can serve him to so many purposes; therfore of consequence there is no one thing that he can so much desire.

If then your subjects want both gold and silver, how can their desire be quiet? Perhaps it shal be answered, they want no mony, they have silver in a kind, yea, and gold too, tho' they show it not.

To that I reply, first for the mony, they esteem it so little, that they wil employ it to great disadvantage rather than

keep it: which breedeth multitude of bargains, and utter impoverishing of the needy.

And for *silver*, they have it indeed in such a kind, as they neither esteem it for silver, nor can without great los use it for silver.

As for *gold*, if there be any quantity remaining, (as some men think but smal,) it cannot come to light; because that like as the value of our mony doth daily decay, so doth the gold encrease to such value, that lying stil it amounteth above the revenues of any land. And he that shall live twelve months shal se, that an old angel shal in value and estimation want little of twelve shillings of our current money; if provision for redress of your Majesties coin be not had the rather.

Thus in mine opinion it appeareth, that the peoples chiefest desire shal kindle, (if it be not already,) and at length must needs burn. For most commonly they feel not smart or they understand.

And the more plague it is a great deal, by reason that 77
not the mean people only, but the middle sort and the greatest do suffer for this; each man in his kind.

Conclude then, that of extreme necessity this coin must be reformed, and that without delay.

Your Majesties most bounden servant,

William Thomas.

X.

William Thomas, esq. to the King; apologizing for some passages in his discourse concerning the amendment of the coin, and in his other discourses, writ by the King's commandment.

PLEASETH your Highnes, as I said at the first, tho' I do study these discourses, and am right glad to write the best opinions that I can gather, yet I meaned not to be such a director, as were not glad himself to learn. Neither do I

trust mine authors so much, as not to mistrust contrary successes, both to their rules and their examples. Neverthe[illegible] since that providence which men may attain in things, [illegible] by study of rules and examples, (for he buyeth it dear that hath it only by experience,) most happy is he in al regiments, that knoweth most arguments to choose the best in doubtful cases. Wherfore I shal most humbly beseech your Highnes to take my study as a pyke or a quarrel to a deeper matter, and with my good wil so to supply my lack, that tho' I appear sometime too vehement, or too much assured, yet that I be not therfore condemned, since it is not I, but the matter as I take it.

And where indeed I was somewhat earnest for the reformation of the coins, wherin it pleased your Majesty to command my opinion; truly my zele to my country did so prick me, that I could not forbear to exclaime against the fault; like as for the redress, I am not yet dissuaded from my device. For tho' I understand there be other arguments perchance better than mine, yet I like not his opinion that in this case groundeth himself on *malum bene conditum ne moveas.* For *malum* it is indeed, but *conditum* it is not, and *bene* it wil never be. Wherfore *necesse est moveri.* And this I dare stand to in argument, that where I devised an exaction of 12*d.* in the pound, if the mony thus continue, your Majesty, by reason of the mints, shal exact above 6*sh.* of the pound; and yet be undon your self at length, unles ye purchase land withal.

And whether it hath made your Majesty rich or no, I cannot tel, but I am sure this coinage, since the first beginning, hath exacted upon your subjects already above 8*sh.* in the pound.

78 As for their frivole reasons, that allege three parts of the four through the realm to fare the better for it, I will not say that either they understand little of policy, or els they would be glad to become commoners themselves; but this I dare avow, there is not one of a hundred, no, not one of a thousand, that is contented with this coine.

Helas! Can we suffer neither fault nor remedy? neither war nor peace?

Your Majesties most humble servant,

William Thomas.

Y.

Sir Philip Hoby, the King's ambassador at the Emperor's Court, to the Duke of Somerset, concerning the interim: *From Augsburgh.*

IT may please your Grace to understand, that the 28th day of the last month the Bishop of Romes legate, that came last hither, had audience of the Emperors Majesty, with whom he was a long while. And the same day both he and the old legate dined with Grandevela; where passed much familiarity and friendly entertainment on both parties. On Friday was sevenight the French ambassadors brother came hither in post. What news he bringeth I cannot learn; but the morrow after his coming the ambassador was with the Emperor, and had with his Majesty long conference. Of these things had I no perfect knowledg until within these four days; and therfore could not advertise of them by my last letters. Cott. Libr. Tit. B. 2.

The Emperor, the diet being now finished, converteth his whole study to the setting forth of the *interim;* which it is said he is earnestly bent to cause these people inviolably to observe. He useth to bring his purpose to pas sundry ways; and attempteth first by fair means to allure them to follow his wil. But if this way shal take no place, it is thought, as partly hath been already experienced, he wil not fail to use extremity. The fear wherof hath caused many to relent, that els would have hardly been brought to grant to the *interim.* The three townes, Constance, Argentine, and Lynda, as in my last letters I wrot unto your Grace, have not yet granted unto the *interim.* And, namely, Lynda; which having first (as by my letters of the 26 of the last month I adverted your Grace) utterly refused to

grant thereto; being then by the Emperors Council, after they had wel laugh'd at them, willed, under the pretence of pity, to take better advice, and to consult together again, and make some wiser answer, have now, on Wednesday last, sent their secretary hither: who on the behalf of the whole town hath declared unto the Emperors Council, that according to their commandment they have eftsones assembled their whole commonalty, and generally al their whole town together. Where they have ripely considered the effects of the *interim*, and taken advice and opinion of sundry wel learned and godly men therin: and finally have perceived, that it is far disagreable from the word of God, whose law and commandments they are bound upon pain of damnation to observe. Which having a special regard unto, and fearing more the threatnings of God, and his just indignation towards the neglecters of his wil and Scripture, than the los of goods, life, or any other temporal thing; they have resolved, in conclusion, not to accept or agree in any condition therunto: which is their resolute answer. But to the end the Emperors Majesty shal not think this to procede of any obstinacy or disobedience towards him, (whom they do acknowledg to be their prince and superior,) they wil not, they say, refuse or resist whatsoever it shal please him to dispose of them. Their gates shal not be shut to any of his soldiers or men, either Spanyards or Italians, (with whom they have been oftentimes threatned,) nor any other that it shal like him to send; they wil not withstand, nor againsay his pleasure therin. Yea they are content he take, if he list, their goods and lives from them: which he shal not need by strong hand to go about; it shal suffice him to command them, and they wil, they say, gladly offer their heads to the block.

79

This answer of so smal a corner was not a little wondred at of the hearers, and their boldnes and constancy had in much admiration. Grandevela threatned the utter desolation of them and their town: but yet I cannot hear of any thing hath been don to them. Constance is not yet reconciled, and therfore, as enemy to the Emperor, have not hi-

therto been required to answer. And Argentine, being now lately commanded to declare their mind, have not yet brought in their resolution.

The Duke of Wirtimburgh, having received from the Emperor the *interim*, with commandment to se it take place, and to be observed throughout his country, it is reported he did not then make any countenance to disobey the Emperors wil herein; but received his commission very reverently. And shortly after suffering the *interim* to go abroad, and the Emperors commissioners appointed for that purpose to set it forth, as it liked them; suddenly, without any mention made of the *interim*, or as tho' he thought nothing therof, (as I hear say he is a man somewhat aged, and merry-conceited, when he list,) he caused proclamation to be made in his country, that each person, for every time they heard mas, should pay unto him eight duckats of gold. He forbad not the mas to be said, but would have the hearers pay him his tribute. This thing, tho' it be commonly reported, I do not greatly credit: yet to the intent your Grace may perceive the imaginations and fantazies of men here, I have thought good among the rest to place this report.

On Friday last Grandevela dined with the old Duke of Saxony: unto whom, after dinner, he remembred the Emperors clemency towards him; how gently he had been, since his coming to the Emperors power, ordered: which his Majesty, he said, did nothing forethink, but thought the 80
same right wel bestowed, and would continue his goodnes towards him, and do more for him than he was ware of, if he would now satisfy his request. And here Grandevela declared unto him the effect of the *interim*, which, he said, the Emperor had, upon grounded considerations, and for the quietnes of al Germany, set forth; and the same for the like respects, he said, was of al the princes, and most of the commonalty, embraced and willingly received. He desired and willed him therfore, on his Majesties behalf, that he also would shew himself conformable and grant therto; which should, he said, be right acceptable to his Majesty, and not unprofitable to him. To this the Duke answered, that he

was now in the Emperors power, his Majesty might with him, and use his carcas as it liked him: he neither could nor would resist his pleasure therin; but humbly sought his Majesty, he would not press him to grant to a thing, which, he said, being as it is against the word and law of God, he would not agree unto, tho' he wist to die for it.

With this answer Grandevela went to the Emperor; who having heard the Dukes mind, was much moved therewith, and sent Grandevela back again to him. Who, by the Emperors order, first commanded three hundred Spanyards more than the accustomed band, to be ready, and ward the Dukes lodging. And then went he to the Duke, and shewed him the Emperors pleasure, seing he so obstinately refused to grant to his request, that the order, which was prescribed at his taking, should now be straitly observed, and no more gentlenes and courtesy shewed unto him, seing it could so little prevail. And forthwith he caused al the daggs and other weapons, that the Dukes servants had there in the house, to be sought out and brought unto him; which he immediately sent away. And wheras the Duke had then about him above seventy servants, he sent them al away, saving twenty seven; which is the number allowed him by the order appointed at his first taking. He also sent from him his preacher, whom he threatned with fire, if he hasted not forth of this country. His cooks and other officers were also commanded, upon pain of burning, they should not from thenceforth prepare or dress for him any flesh upon the Fridays or Saturdays, or on other fasting days commanded by the Romish church. In this straituess remaineth the Duke now: wherewith he seemeth to be so little moved, as there can be no alteration perceived in him, either by word or countenance; but is even now as merry, and as content to the utter shew, as he was at any time of his most prosperity.

Grandevela's son, called Monsieur de Shantonny, who was sent to Spain to carry the news, and present the conclusion of the spousals between the Arch Duke of Austriche,

sen to the King of the Romans, and the Emperors daughter, now four days past returned to this Court, with the answer of the said ladies conformity, and consent of the estates of Spain herein. He was immediately dispatched in post by the Emperor, to cary these news to the King of the Romans; who, as by my last letters I wrote unto your Grace, departed hence on Monday last.

This town is stil ful of Scottish wars, and of the French 81
resistance there, which I warrant you is bragged out to the uttermost: wherunto I am not able to make any direct answer, for want of advertisement from thence. My hope is, your Grace wil consider this my grief, and help to relieve it. Herewith it may please your Grace to receive the order of the publication and conclusion of this last diet, and the articles agreed upon in the same, which John Bernardine hath gotten. Thus Almighty God preserve your Grace, and send you most happy succes in al your affaires. From Auspurge, the 9th day of July, anno 1548.

Your Graces at commandment,

Phelyp Hoby.

Z.

The Confession of Sir William Sharington, concerning his frauds in coining the King's money.

In the Tower, the second of February 1548.

I, Sir William Sharington, knight, humbly acknowledge and confess, that I have offended the King his Majestie and his laws. First, in that, contrary to the prohibition sent unto me, and without warraunt, I coyned testons in the moneths of May, June, and July, in the yere of our Lord 1547, to a great sum; but the certenty therof I know not. MSS. penes me.

And also in the clyppings or shearings of the mony, I defrawded his Highnes veary moche, but how moche I cannot be certen; but I am sure it was above IIII M. li. Wherby, upon a desire of my own gayne, I made the money too light out of the remedy.

I do also confess, that when the monethly doings or bo were brought unto me, I did use every moneth to str out as moch as I thought good: and to th'entent I mig the better do so, I falsified th'endentures of the coyn and burned al such bokes, indentures, and writings, as mig justly have charged me. But to what sum I deceyved Ma Majesty by this meane, I am not able to express; but sur I am it amounteth to a notable sum, moch more than a that I have will be able to pay.

For the which my said offences, and al other, I submit my self wholly to his Highnes mercy, and acknowledg my self most worthy death and heynous punishment; and onl trust of his Highnes mercy and perdon, by the goodnes of my L. Protector his Grace, who hath hitherto ben mo merciful to al men.

Humbly, of my knees, and with a most woful hert, a man most ashamed of my deads of any man lyving; requiring not justice to be executed towards me, but mercy. And what fortune or lyf God shal put into the King's Ma-
82 jesty, my L. Protector his Grace, and the counsayles minds to geve me, that must nedes be better then my deserts. And I shal take that thankfully, as of the benefit oonly, and dayly prey for ther estate, with most herty preyer and request to Almighty God.

F. Shrewsbury. W. Sharington.
Thomas Southampton.
T. Smith.

Z Z.

A pious prayer of Queen Katharine Parre; by her composed in short ejaculations suited to her condition.

MSS. D. Sampson, M. D.

MOST benign Lord Jesu, grant me thy grace, that it may alway work in me, and persevere with me unto the end.

Grant me, that I may ever desire and wil that which is most pleasant and most acceptable unto thee.

Thy wil be my wil, and my wil be to follow always thy will.

Let there be alway in me one wil and one desire with thee, and that I have no desire to wil or not to wil, but as thou wilt.

Lord, thou knowest what thing is most profitable and most expedient for me.

Give me therfore what thou wilt, as much as thou wilt, and when thou wilt.

Do with me what thou wilt, as it shal please thee, and as shal be most to thine honor.

Put me where thou wilt, and freely do with me in all things after thy will.

Thy creature I am, and in thy hands; lead me and turn me where thou wilt.

Lo! I am thy servant, ready to al things that thou commandest: for I desire not to live to my self, but to thee.

Lord Jesu! I pray thee grant me grace, that I never set my heart on the things of this world, but that al carnal and worldly affections may utterly dy and be mortified in me.

Grant me above al things, that I may rest in thee, and fully quiet and pacify my heart in thee.

For thou, Lord, art the very true peace of heart, and the perfect rest of the soul; and without thee al things be grievous and unquiet.

My Lord Jesu, I beseech thee be with me in every place, and at al times; and let it be to me a special solace, gladly for to love to lack all worldly solace.

And if thou withdraw thy comfort from me at any time, keep me, O Lord, from separation, [desperation,] and make me patiently to abide thy will and ordinance.

O Lord Jesu, thy judgments be righteous, and thy pro- 83
vidence is much better for me than al that I can imagin or devise.

Wherfore do with me in al things as it shal please thee.

For it may not be but wel, al that thou dost.

If thou wilt that I be in light, be thou blessed; if thou wilt that I be in darknes, be thou also blessed.

If thou vouchsafe to comfort me, be thou highly blessed;

and if thou wilt I ly in trouble, and without comfort, I thou likewise ever blessed.

Lord, give me grace gladly to suffer whatsoever thou wilt shal fal upon me, and patiently to take at thy hand good and bad, bitter and sweet, joy and sorrow: and for al things that shal befal unto me heartily to thank thee.

Keep me, Lord, from sin, and I shal then dread neither death nor hell.

O! what thanks ought I to give unto thee, which hast suffered the grievous death of the cross to deliver me from my sins, and to obtain everlasting life for me?

Thou gavest us most perfect example of patience, fulfilling and obeying the wil of thy Father, even unto death.

Make me, wretched sinner, obediently to use my self after thy wil in al things, and patiently to bear the burthen of this corrupt life.

For tho' this life be tedious, and as a heavy burthen to my soul, yet nevertheles through thy grace and by example of thee, it is now made much more easy and comfortable, than it was before thy incarnation and passion.

Thy holy life is our way to thee, and by following of that we walk to thee that art our head and Saviour. And except thou hadst gon before, and shewed us the way to everlasting life, who would endeavour himself to follow thee, seeing we be yet so slow and dul, having the light of thy blessed example and holy doctrin to lead and direct us?

O Lord Jesu, make that possible by grace that is to me impossible by nature.

Thou knowest wel, that I may little suffer, and that I am soon cast down and overthrown with a little adversity. Wherfore I beseech thee, O Lord, to strengthen me with thy Spirit, that I may willingly suffer for thy sake al maner of troubles and afflictions.

Lord, I wil knowledge unto thee al mine unrighteousnes, and I wil confes to thee al the unstableness of my heart.

Oftentimes a very little thing troubleth me sore, and maketh me dul and slow to serve thee.

And sometimes I purpose to stand strongly; but when a little trouble cometh, it is to me great anguish and grief; and of a right little thing riseth a grievous temptation to me.

Yea, when I think my self to be sure and strong, as it seemeth I have the upper hand, suddenly I feel my self ready to fal with a little blast of temptation.

Behold therfore, good Lord, my weakness, and consider 84
my frailnes, best known to thee.

Have mercy on me, and deliver me from al iniquity and sin, that I be not intangled therewith.

Oftentimes it grieveth me sore, and in a maner confoundeth me, that I am so unstable, so weak, and so frail in resisting sinful motions.

Which altho' they draw me not away to consent, yet nevertheless their assaults be very grievous unto me.

And it is tedious to me to live in such battail, albeit I perceive that such battail is not unprofitable for me: for therby I know the better my self and mine own infirmities, and that I must seek help only at thy hands, &c.

It is to me an unpleasant burthen, what pleasure soever the world offereth me here.

I desire to have inward fruition in thee, but I cannot attain therto, &c. *And to a great length are these pious breathings of the soul of this excellent Queen extended.*

85

ZZZ.

An account of the King's sales of chantries, colleges, &c. in the second year of his reign.

K. Edw. Book of Sales.

Chantry, college, hospital, guild, &c.	*Yearly value.*	*Purchase.*	*Purchaser.*
The chantry upon the bridge of great Totneys in the county of Devon, and other lands.	21 0 0 *ob.*	397 4 8 *ob.*	John Peter and John Bogan.
Chantry of St. Maries within the parochial church of Chard, count. Somerset, and other lands.	44 8 0 *q.* 5 4 11	1417 19 9 *ob.*	John Whitehorn and John Bayly.
College of S. Joh. Baptist of Stoke, juxta Clare in com. Suffolk, &c.	3 6 8 18 2 4 0 6 8 6 11 2 *ob.*	958 3 5 *ob.*	John Cheke and Walter Moyle.
Capital messuage and tenement called *Catford*, lying in Lewisham in Kent, lately belonging to the coll. of Corpus Christi, near the church of S. Laur. Pountney, Lond. &c.	98 0 6 *ob.*	2034 14 10	Hen. Polstede and Will. More.
Chantry in the parochial church of S. Mich. Coslam, in the city of Norw. &c.	3 2 11 4 17 0 2 18 0 2 16 0 11 6 8	492 11 8	Edw. Warner, knt. and Ric. Catlin.
The college of the name of Jesu, in Bury S. Edm. Suff. &c.	18 4 6 2 0 0	497 8 0	Rich. Corbet.
The messuage and house called *the Trinity hal*, otherwise *the common hal* of the fraternity or guild of the Trinity founded in the ch. of S. Botolph without Aldersgate. And 8 meases commonly called *the Trinity ally*, &c.	18 16 0	Given.	Will. Hawy, alias Somers.
Three messuages, tenements, &c. in S. Mary Aldermary, London, belonging to the chantry at the altar of S. Joh. Baptist in the chappel neer the parochial church of Aldermary aforesaid, upon the charnel there, commonly called *Exportes chauntry*, and divers other lands, &c.	45 0 8 1 12 6	689 7 4	Walter Young and Edward Young.

86

Chantry, college, hospital, guild, &c.	*Yearly value.*	*Purchase.*	*Purchaser.*
At the chauntry, called *Edmunds chauntry* in Barrington in Cambridg, &c.	69 6 2 *q.*	958 17 7 *ob.*	Thomas Wendy and John Barton.
The chauntry of S. Joh. Evangelist, and S. J. Baptist, called *Farnacres chauntry*, in the parish of Wickham, comitat. Durham.	17 19 6	In consideration of service.	Alex. Pringel.
The chauntry of Heding ham, alias Hedningham Sible in comitat. Essex, &c.	8 14 5 2 15 4	324 6 0	John Lucas, esq.
The chauntry of Coberley in Glocestersh.	8 12 0	206 8 0	Wil. Bridges, kt.
The free chappel in Caster S. Trinity in the county of Norf. *cum pertinentiis.*	2 13 4	64 0 0	Will. Paston, kt.
Two chauntries in Wivenhoo in Essex, and the maner of Albins belong. thereto, &c.	13 9 0 2 0 0	339 18 0	Walter Cely.
A messuage, tenement, and burgage in the county of Dorset, belonging to the chauntry of S. Maries founded within the church of S. Trinity of Dorchester, &c.	6 7 2 8 7 2	149 11 8	Fraun. Samwel and John Byll.
At the sept, scite, circuit and precincts of the college of the New Work of Leic. commonly called *the New Wark College* in the town of Leic.	21 10 4	453 6 4	Joh. Beaumont, esq. and William Gyes.
The chauntry of Harrow founded in the church of Harrow upon the Hil in Middlesex; and divers other lands, &c.	9 6 0 10 18 8 0 12 0 10 10 10 1 9 4 2 18 0 1 12 0 1 6 0	742 8 6	William Gyes and Michael Purefey.
Messuage and tenement called *the Bel*, and other houses and tenements, &c. in the parish of S. Katharin Creechurch, given to maintain a priest to celebrate mass.	13 6 0	219 7 0	Giles Harrison.
Coggeshal chauntry in Great Badow, in the county of Essex, &c.	16 6 8 8 17 8 *ob.* 0 9 2	562 12 1	Will. Mildmay and John Mildmay.
The chauntry in the parochial church of Kirkeby in comitat. Lanc.	6 15 0	148 10 0	Thomas Stanley.
The chauntry of Great	12 10 8	314 19 10	Thomas Tyrrel.

87

Chantry, college, hospital, guild, &c.	*Yearly value.*	*Purchase.*	*Purchaser.*
Sampford in Essex, &c. and the chauntry of Iselham in the county of Cambr.			
The guild or fraternity of S. Trinity and S. Joh. Baptist, in the parochial ch. of Shepton Mallet in Somers.	14 17 8	357 4 0	John Horner.
The messuage and tenement, and al shops, cellars, &c. situate within Christs church within Newgate, Lond. for the sustentation of a priest to celebrate in the church of Hackney in Middlesex, &c.	20 0 0 1 19 0 4 10 0 3 0 0 2 12 8	894 4 2	Tho. Persse and William Alexander.
The rectory and free chappel of S. Leonards in the parish of Hollington in Sussex; and the chauntry of Lewton founded in Awton Gifford in Devon, &c.	17 1 11	1154 15 0	Joh. Keyme and Richard Keyme.
Messuages, lands, and tenements, &c. situate in the parishes of Chrisale in Essex, and Edelmeton, lately belonging to the chauntry of S. George the 90 Martyr, within the cathedral church of Heref. and divers other, &c.	4 0 0 0 6 8 1 0 0 1 9 7 3 19 6	311 16 0	Tho. Crawley.
Messuage and tenements called *the Plough*, and other lands, houses, &c. lying in Faiter-lane, Lond. belonging to the fraternity of S. Sithe in the church of S. Andrews, Holborn.	31 15 6	643 16 10	Thom. Bartlet and Rich. Modye.
The chauntry of Sprotton in the county of Northampton, and al the messuages, mills, &c.	19 16 8	448 7 4	Silvester Taverner and J. Hynde.
House in Bunbury in the county of Chester, called *the chauntry-house*, belonging to the chauntry or chauntries of two priests or clarks, lately founded in the parochial church of Bunbury, called *Sir Rafe Egertons chauntry*.	12 15 4	435 16 8	Tho. Bromeley, kt.
Lands and pastures, &c. lying in Westham in Essex, and al that land, containing by estimation an acre and half, in Layton, Essex, given to the sustentation of an anniversary, &c.	85 15 7 *ob.* 5 4 0	1924 10 1	Tho. Golding and Walter Celye.

Chantry, college, hospital, guild, &c.	*Yearly value.*	*Purchase.*	*Purchaser.*
A chauntry in Sevenoke in Kent, and the messuage and tenement called *the chauntry-house*, &c.	39 8 8	947 17 0	Will. Twisden and John Brown.
Mansion and tenement, called *the mansion-house* of the college or new-hal in the mountrey within the city of Wells, &c.	15 0 4 2 13 8 3 0 7 8 9 1 3 10 4 1 6 8 4 13 4	722 0 2	John Aylewort and Will. Lacye.
A ruinous chappel, called *the Rood chappel* of Greenwich.	0 5 0	In consideration of service.	Rob. Hockeland.
The college of S. John Baptist, of Shotesbroke in Berks, &c.	28 9 2	963 0 8	Thomas Weldon and Edw. Weldon.
Manor and rectory of Winkbourn in Nottingh. belonging to the priory or hospital of S. Johns of Jerusalem in England.	27 19 7	In consideration of the rectory of Eastbech, and in performance of K. Henry VIII. his will.	Wil. Burnel.
The manor of Colbridge in Kent, belonging to the college of S. Ste. Westm. and divers, &c.	23 2 6 5 1 11 *ob.* 2 16 4 *ob* 1 18 0	749 17 1 *ob.*	Edward Wotton, kt.
The manors of Awbery, Winterbourn, and Charleton in Wilts; parcel of the possession and rents of the college of S. Mary and All-Saints of Fotheringhay in Northampt. &c.	Non patet.	2808 4 10 *ob.* and in consideration of an exchange of woods, lands, &c. in Essex, and in performance of K. Henries wil.	Wil. Sharington, kt.
Messuages and tenements called *Boyes*, in Falcot and Toleshunt Knights, in Essex; parcel of the guild or fraternity of S. George of the parish of S. Mary the Virgin in Walden, &c	1 13 4 2 5 7 1 9 4 2 3 5 3 5 8 3 9 7 2 3 4 0 15 8	346 4 10	John Wells.
Chauntry of Penshurst in Kent, &c.	8 18 8 *q.*	211 8 6	George Harper, kt. and Rich. Frye.
Al that messuage or tenement in Chanon-row, Westm. belonging to the	9 0 0 57 3 4 5 3 4	1477 15 8	Sir Michael Stanhope and John Bellowe.

Chantry, college, hospital, guild, &c.	*Yearly value.*	*Purchase.*	*Purchaser.*
college of S. Stephens, and divers other lands, &c.	1 15 1 3 4 5 5 0 0		
The free chappel of Tilne in the parish of Hayton in Nott. &c.	25 3 0	575 1 0	Tho. Swifte and William Swifte.
The chauntry or free chappel of S. Mary of Witney, Ox. &c.	7 3 6 *q.* 2 13 4 16 16 8	427 19 9	Will. Boxe.
The fraternity or guild of Luton in Bedf. and 91 Hert. and al the guild in Hitchyn in Hertf. and the whole house and mansion, commonly called *the Brotherhed house*, situate in Hitchyn, &c.	23 11 9 7 16 11 4 0 0 2 2 0 10 16 0	1036 14 4	Raaul. Burgh and Rob. Beverley.
The chauntry of Swynford in Leic. and al the messuage called *the chauntry house*, &c.	2 17 5 2 14 5 3 10 4 10 6 8	404 12 0	William Parker.
The capital house and scite of the college of Whittington in the parish of S. Michaels Pater Noster, London, &c.	4 6 8	92 2 0	Armagil Wade.
The chauntry called *Barkeleys chauntry*, founded in the parochial church of Meere in Wilts, &c.	22 11 2 7 12 2 *ob.* 3 0 0 3 1 0 2 2 2 3 2 0 3 14 10 2 12 3 77 11 0	2731 8 9 *ob.*	John Thynne, kt. and Laurence Hyde, gent.
Manor of Bettiscomb in the county of Dorset, belonging to the college of S. Stevens, Westm.	28 2 4 *ob.*	661 8 0 *q.*	Rich. Randal.
The farm and barton of Eynston in the parish of Henx-street in Somers. belonging to the chauntry of S. Katharine in Ilminster in the said county, &c.	36 3 11 25 13 4	1297 10 0	Thomas Bell, kt. and Rich. Duke, esq.
Five messuages in Beverly in the county of York, called *the mansion houses* of the late prebendaries of the prebends of S. Peter, S. James, S. Stephen, S. 92 Katharine, and S. Martin, founded in the late col-	23 13 1 *q.* 4 1 8	506 9 11	Mich. Stanhope, kt. and Joh. Bellowe.

Chantry, college, hospital, guild, &c.	*Yearly value.*	*Purchase.*	*Purchaser.*
lege of Beverly, and divers, &c.			
The messuage and tenem. known by the name of *Holmes college* in the parish of S. Gregory, Lond. and belonging to the chauntry commonly called *Holmes chauntry*.	72 4 8 8 2 8	1289 7 6	John Hulson and Wil. Pendred.
Three cottages or tenem. and three gardens belonging thereunto, in East Kirby in the county of Linc. late in the occupation of the chanterists of the chauntry of East Kirby, &c.	21 15 0	606 9 0 *ob.*	Rich. Goodrick & Wil. Breton.
Manor of Chedworth in the county of Glouc. and the scite of the college of Penkrich in Staff. &c.	9 0 3 1 10 8 1 10 6 3 3 9 2 0 0 38 16 10	1286 5 7	John Earl of Warwic, Ric. Forset, and others.
Chauntry of Aston in Aston neer Brymingham in Warw. and the house and mansion of the chauntry; and the manor of Yngton, &c.	5 7 7 17 1 8 72 14 8	1522 16 3	Rich. Pallady and Frauncis Foxhal.
Chauntry called *Hotosts chauntry* in Orset in the county of Essex, &c.	3 7 7 2 17 10 1 14 4 18 0 5	532 13 4	Clement Cysley & John Leeds.
Chauntry of S. Mary Magdalen in Sprouston in the county of Norf. and divers other lands, &c.	9 0 6 2 19 6	276 0 0	Rob. Southwel, kt. and John Corbet.
The free chappel called *Milkhouse chappel* in the parish of Cranebroke in Kent, and the whole scite, sept, compas, and circuit of the said chappel, &c.	3 6 8 3 10 10 78 0 4 *ob.*	262 3 8	John Baker, kt. 93
House and scite of the priory of Snelleshal in Bucks, and al the manor of Harlington, &c.	146 7 9 *ob.*	Partly in exchange, and partly in fulfilling of the will of K. Hen. VIII.	Thomas Palmer, kt.
The chauntry called *Batemans chauntry* in Borough in the county of Camb. and the chauntry called *Jenet Childs*, alias	11 11 0 9 12 5	508 2 0	Gilbert Claydon & Rob. Barker.

Chantry, college, hospital, guild, &c.	*Yearly value.*	*Purchase.*	*Purchaser.*
the chauntry of S. Mary de Wittham in Essex.			
The chauntry of S. Anne de le Gon in Shafton in Dorset, and the free chappel of Little Mayne in Dors. and the chauntry of Langton, called *Gildon chauntry*, founded in the parochial church of Langton, &c.	2 19 4 *ob.* 4 0 0 3 0 0 3 6 8 1 10 0 7 0 0 0 4 0 2 5 0	569 2 10	Thomas Boxley & Rob. Reve.
Chauntry of Pepingbury in Kent, &c.	11 9 0 *diq.*	253 8 0	John Revers.
The church of Bablack in the city of Coventry, parcel of the guild of the said city, called *Trinity guild.*	Non patet.	Nihil.	The city of Coventry.
The free chappel called *S. Margarets chappel* in Tadingston, Suff. and the chauntry called *Depden* in Kent, &c.	14 19 6 *ob.*	342 2 2	John Earl of Oxford, and Tho. Almote.
The chauntry called *our* 94 *Lady chauntry* in Acton in Suff. and the manor of Bowerhal in Essex, belonging to Mills chauntry in Melford in Suff. &c.	19 6 0 6 13 4	486 0 0	Thomas Paston, kt.
The messuage, tenement, and inn, called *the Helmet* in Kings-street, Westm. and an house of an inkeeper within the said messuage belonging to S. Stephens coll. Westm.	13 0 8 8 3 1 5 5 8 1 6 8	562 5 4	Rich. Audeley and Joh. Rede.
The chauntry of Hatfield Broad Oak in Essex, &c.	5 13 4 1 0 2 0 6 8 0 8 4 31 14 5	821 11 9	Walter Farre and Rafe Standish.
The chauntry of S. Mary Magdalen in the parochial church of Cross Thwaite in Cumberl. &c.	5 0 0 6 8 11 6 19 2 3 2 8 *ob.* 0 19 6 3 0 0 59 3 1	1696 14 10	Thom. Brende.
The chappel and scite of the chappel of the Assumption of the Bl. Virgin Mary, upon the bridge of the town of Bristol, &c.	1 0 0	51 0 0	The maior and commonalty of the city of Bristol.
The chauntry of S. Mary in Alfreton in the county	7 8 8 2 17 0	347 10 0	Thom. Babington.

Chantry, college, hospital, guild, &c.	*Yearly value.*	*Purchase.*	*Purchaser.*
of Darb. and the scite of the hospital of Castleton in the said county, and divers other lands, &c.	2 1 0 2 0 0		
Farnham chauntry in Surrey, &c.	21 3 4	407 4 0	John White and Stev. Kyrton.
The chauntry called *Whaplodes* in the parish of Chalfouts S. Peters in Bucks.	10 17 6	261 0 0	Robert Drury, kt.
The free chappel of Arley Whiteknights in Sonnyng in Berks, &c.	1 13 4 0 10 0 1 3 4 1 16 0 12 18 10	382 7 8	Henry Polsted and William More.
Three messuages in Totchil-street, Westmin. parcel of the land of the fraternity or guild of S. Mary, founded in the church of S. Margaret, Westm. &c.	31 3 2	674 3 6	Will. Chester and Christopher Nedeham.

95 AA.

Archbishop Cranmer's Treatise of Unwritten Verities.

MSS. D. Joh. D. Episc. Elien.

IN the day of Pentecost, whan the Holy Ghoost descended upon the apostles and discyples of Chryst, they receyved suche grace and goostly knowlege, that they hade forthwith the gyfte of the understandynge of Scrypture, to speak in the tonges of al men: and also that upon whomsoever they layde theyr handes, the Holy Ghoste should descend upon them: and therupon they by theyr preachyng and good doctryn converted in short tyme great multitudes of people unto the fayth of Christ. And after that, dyvers blessed men in strength of the fayth, wrote the lyfe, miracles, doctryne, passion, death, and resurrection of our mayster Chryst: but four of those writings were only receyved by al the whole Church of Chryst, that is to say, of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. And they receyved them to be of such auctoryty, that it should not be lawful to any man that would confess Chryst, to deny them. And they were called *the four Gospels of Christ.* And the Epystles of Paul, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles that be called *canonyke*, and the Apocalyps, were receyved to be of lyke auctoryty as the Gospels were. And thus by assent as wel of the people as of the clergy, was the New Testament affyrmed to be of such auctoryty as it is now taken to be of, and as it is of indede: so that it is not lawful to deny any thyng that it affirmeth, ne to affirme any thyng that it denyeth. And it is no mervayle though it be taken to be of such strength. For it was auctorysed, whan the people that were newly converted to the fayth were ful of grace and of devotion, replenished with vertues, desyryng al way the lyfe to come, and the helthe of theyr own souls, and of theyr neyghbours.

Than also were blessed bishops, blessed preestes, and other blessed persons of the clergy. And what could such men ask of God ryght wisely, that sholde be denyed them? And who may thynk, but that they, and al the people at the

said auctorizing of the Scripture, prayed devoutly for the assistaunce of the Holy Gost, that they might have grace to auctoryze such as shold be to his honour, to the encrease of his fayth, and to the helth of the souls of al his people?

The time also that thys auctoryzing of the New Testament, and the gatheryng it togyder was made, was, as I suppose, the tyme of the moost high and gracyous sheddyng out of the mercy of God into the world, that ever was from the begynnyng of the world unto thys day: and I mean the tyme that was from the incarnation of Christ unto [*i. e.* until] the sayd auctoryzyng of the New Testament was accomplished. For in part of that tyme our Lord was here hymself in bodyly presence, preachyng and teachyng hys laws, gatheryng and chusyng hys apostels and dysciples, that sholde teach and preach hys laws, whan he was gone: which 96
they did not only by word, but also by good examples, that yet remayne unto thys day: so that al that tyme may in maner be called *the golden tyme.* And not only the New Testament was than receyved, but also the Old Testament: and by preachyng and teachyng of these Testaments was the fayth of Chryst mervaylously encreased in many countrees.

After al thys, by a common speakyng among the people, the byshops, preests, and other of the clergy, which were as lanternes unto the people, and the specyal maynteyners of the Christen fayth, were called *the Chyrche*, or men of the Chyrche: and under the colour of that name *chyrche*, many of the clergy in proces of tyme pretended, that they might make expositions of Scripture, as the universal Chyrche of Christ, that is to say, as the hole congregation of Christen people myght. And therupon whan covetyse and pryde somewhat encresed in many of the clergy, they expounded very favourably dyvers texts of Scripture, that sounded to the mayntenaunce of theyr honour, power, jurisdiction, and ryches: and over that, take upon them to affirme, that they were the Chyrche that myght not erre; and that Christ and his apostells had spoken and taught many thyngs that were not expresly in Scripture; and that the people were as wel bound to love them, and that under lyke payne, as if they

had ben expressed in Scripture, and called them *unwritten verities*. Wherof I shal, as for an example, recyte part.

Fyrst, That Christ after hys maundye, and after he had washen the fete of his apostles, taught them to make holy cream, for ministracion of the sacraments; and that they have as ful auctoryty to do the same, as yf it had been conteyned in Scripture, that Christ had gyven them power to do it.

That it is a tradicion of the apostles, that ymages ought to be set up.

That the apostels ordeyned that al faithful people should resort to the Chyrch of Rome, as to the most hygh and principal chyrch of al other: and yet it cannot be proved by Scripture, ne by any other sufficient auctoryty, that they made any such ordynaunce.

Also, that the Creed, which is commonly and universally used to be sayd by the common people, was made by the twelve apostles: and though the articles therof are firmely and stedfastly to be beleved of every Christen man, as artycles sufficiently proved by Scripture, yet that they were gathered togyder by the XII apostels. And specially, that every one of the apostels made one artycle, as paynters shew that they did, cannot be proved by Scripture; ne is it not necessary to be beleved for our salvation. And though it were but a smal offence in the people to beleve that it were an article necessary to be beleved for our salvation, because the clergy, which be the lanternes and leders unto the people, do instruct them that it is so; and it is nether agaynst the law of God, nor the law of reason, but that it may be so: yet it is a great offence to the clergy, to affyrme for certayn the thyng that is to themself uncertayne. And therfore it would be reformed for eschewyng of offences unto the clergy.

97 Also, that the people shal pray into the est is not proved by Scripture. And yet they say, that by the tradicion of the apostles it is to be beleved.

Also, that our lady was not born in orygynal synne.

That she was assumpte into heven, body and soule.

All these, and many others, divers of the clergy cal un-

unwritten veryties, left in the world by the tradicion and relacion of the apostles, which, as they say, the people are bound to beleve as wel as Scripture; for they say, that syth no man were bound to beleve Scripture, but bycause the Chyrch sayth, This is Scripture, so they say, that in the thyngs before rehersed, the Chyrche wytnesseth them to be true; and that the people have assented to them many yeres: wherfore it is not lawful to doubt at them, ne to denye them. To this reason it may be answered, that yf it can be proved by as good and as hygh auctoryte, that these thyngs were left in the world by the tradicion and relacion of the apostles, as the auctorysing of Scripture was, that than they are to be beleved as veryly as Scripture: but yf they be wytnessed to be so by some byshops and priests, and some other of the clergy only, or that they be wytnessed to be so by decrees and laws made by byshops of Rome, and by the clergy of Rome, or by opinion of doctors onely; than no man is bound to accept them, ne beleve them, as they are bound to beleve Scripture: for Scripture, as it is sayd before, was auctorysed by the hole Chyrche of God, and in the most elect and moost gracious tyme, that of lykelyhode hath ben syth the begynnyng of Christs Chyrche. And yf it be sayd that many of the sayd opynions have ben affirmed and approved by general councels, in whom no error may be presumed, it may be answered, that though the Chyrch gathered together in the Holy Ghost may not erre in thyngs perteyning to the fayth, than yet forasmoche as some general councils have ben gathered, and not by the power of kyngs and princes, that be heads of the Chyrche, and that laws have ben also made at such general councels, of divers thyngs which have not perteyned to the fayth, but to the mayntenance of the auctoryte or profyt of the clergy, or of soch artycles as ar before rehersed, that they cal *unwritten veryties*, which undoubtedly perteyn not merly to the fayth, that it may therfore be lawfully doubted, whether soch councels were gathered in the Holy Goost or not, and whether they erred in their judgments or not. And it is no doubt, but that in some general councils they have done so indede.

And I suppose that there be but few matters more necessary ne more expedyent for kyngs and princes to loke upon, than upon these unwrytten veryties, and of makin of laws by the clergy. For yf they be suffered to maynte that there be any verytyes, which the people are bound to beleve upon payn of dampnacion besyde Scripture, it wil persuade partly an insufficiency in Scripture, and therupon myght follow great daungers many wayes. And yf it were admytted, that the clergy myght be receaved to affirme that there be soch verytyes beside Scripture, yet they could not prove them. For if they wold in profe therof say, that the
98 apostles fyrst taught those verities, and that they have so contynued from one to another unto thys day, and shew none other auctority therof but that, than al the saying may as lightly be denyed as it was affirmed, and with as hygh auctoryty. And yf they wil ferther attempt to approve it by laws made by the byshops of Rome, and by the clergy at Rome, yea, or by laws and decrees made at general councils; yet these laws and decrees may be lawfully doubted at, as before appeareth: so that they cannot by reason therof dryve any necessitye of belefe into any person.

Wherfore kyngs and prynces, that have receaved of God the hygh power and charge over the people, are bound to prohybyte soch sayings upon great payns; and not to suffre a belefe to be grounded upon thyngs uncertayne.

But yet yf some of the sayd articles, that be called *unwrytten verities*, were suffered to contynue as thyngs that be more lyke to be true than otherwyse, and no necessitie of belefe to be deryved therupon, I suppose verely it myght wel be suffered, that they shuld stand styl, not prohybyte; as it is of that artycle, that the XII apostles made the Crede: that it is good to pray into the est; that our Lady was not born in original sin; that she was assumpted body and soul: and therfore yf it were ordeyned by kyngs and princes, that no man, upon payne to be taken as a breaker of the quyetnes of the people, shuld deny any of the sayd articles, it were wel done to kepe unytie among the people. But divers realms may ordre soch thyngs diversely, as they shal seme

conveayent, after the dysposition of the people ther. For they be but thyngs indyfferent, to be beleved or not beleved, and are nothyng lyke to Scripture, to the Artycles of the Fayth, the X Commaundements, ne to soch other moral thyngs, as are merely deryved out of Scripture: for they must of necessity be beleved and obeyed of every Christen man. For after Saynt Paul ad Ephes. IIII. there must be one God, one fayth, and one baptisme. But to suffre them to stand as *unwrytten veryties*, that may not be denyed, and to have theyr auctoryty onely by laws made by the clergy, it semeth daungerous: for it myght cause many of the clergy to esteme more power in the clergy than ther is indede; and that myght lift many of them into a hygher estimation of themself than they ought to have. Wherby myght follow great daunger unto the people: for as long as there be disorders in the clergy, it wyl be hard to bryng the people to good ordre.

And al this that I have touched before may be reformed without any rebuke to the clergy that now is. For the pretence of soch unwrytten veryties, ne yet of makyng of laws, to bynd kyngs and princes and theyr people, ne yet that both powers, that is to say, spiritual and temporal, were in the clergy, began not in the clergy that now is, but in theyr predecessours.

And as to the sayd other pretenced unwritten veryties, that is to say, that al men shuld resort to Rome, as to the most high and principal Chyrche; and that it is a tradycion and unwrytten veryty, that ymages ought to be set up; it were wel done, that they and soch other opinions, wherby pryde, covetyse, or vain glory myght spring hereafter, were pro- 99
hybyte by auctorytie of the Parlament upon great paynes. And as to the sayd unwrytten verytie, that holy creame shuld be made after the maundie, it perteyneth onely to them that have auctoritie to judge, whether it be an unwrytten veritie or not, and to judge also what is the very auctoritie of makyng of that creame. And therfore I wyl no ferther speke of that matter at thys tyme.

BB.

Sir William Paget, ambassador with the Emperor, his letter to the Lord Protector.

Cott. Libr. Galba, B.12.

SIR, After my most humble commendations to your Grace. Albeit ye shal perceive by our common letters the maner of our proceding with Mons. D'Arras and his company, whereof we have deferred to advertise your Grace, upon trust to have had ere this time answer of the Emperors mind in certain points touched in our conference; yet I have thought it my part to render a reason to your Grace of the maner of my proceding, to the intent, if your Grace like the same, I may perfect my beginning therein; and if your Grace think good otherwise, that then you may inform me of your plesure, which I wil not fail to follow accordingly.

And first, Sir, I consider that the chief cause of my coming hither is to desciphre the Emperor; which is divided into two branches: the one, for the confirmation of the old treaty; and the other, to bring him with us into war against France; if he wil assent, as I suppose he wil, and we look hourly to know the certainty.

To the confirmation then, may it seem to your Grace, that notwithstanding any practice that hath been used to him by any other against you, and notwithstanding the proceedings at home, he mindeth to entertain your friendship. If he assent to the understanding of my cause put to them, then is there a more hope of his friendship. If he wil be content also to accept Boloygn into defence upon reason reciproque, then by al likelihood, considering in what doubtfulnes Boloign is at present to be assailed, hee wil not stick to enter enimity with France: and also is determined (in my poor opinion, under correction of your Grace,) to fal out with them in respect of his own affairs, though you should not move the same. But if he wil agree to the first point only, or to the first and second, then, Sir, you know whereto to trust at his hands, and must maintain your affairs with France of your selves. And then in this case to move
100 him to joyn with you for invasion against France with an army, and not to come to a lesser point, which is the mean

to a greater, I think it shal but discover you too much, and hinder your doings hereafter peradventure with France; and therefore rather to pas it over in silence.

Now, Sir, if, as I said, he assent to the third point, *viz.* to accept Boloygn into defence, I think also it shal be best not to speak of the common invasion with armies: for I am of opinion, that tho' you bind not your self to a common invasion, yet wil he the next year invade: and so need not you to do, except you list. And if you wil, you may: mary, at liberty. And tho' he do enter into invasion for his own quarrels, or France with him, yet need you not to go further (except your affairs lead you) than the Emperor hath and doth now with the Scots: so as I conclude upon this my blind nibbling at the matter, that you need not to have any mention made of common invasion: for you mean not but to bring him in; and this way for the defence of Bolign serveth wel enough for the purpose, without entangling your self further in the war than you shal wel get out of it again, when you shal be weary of it. Neither, if they here shal move the common invasion, and wil not otherwise to accept the defence of Boloygn, then rather to joyn in the common invasion, than to let slip the anchor hold.

And thus far, Sir, I have shewed your Grace my simple opinion in this matter, beseeching your Grace both to take the same in good part, and also to signify to me your pleasure therein, and whether you think it not good for the King, that I move the points to be added to the treaty, *viz.* that he shall be common enemy (besides the case of invasion) that surprizeth any of the Kings and the Emperors forts, in any the places comprehended in the treaties on both sides, or that now shal come into comprehension. *Item*, That safe conduct to traffic shal be neither given nor taken, either to your common enemy, or of your own subjection. And your Graces pleasure known in these points, I think to make an end of the matter shortly; and they here seem to look for the same.

As for the matter of mariage, seing it hath been broached there, and largely refreshed by us here, I desire also your

plesure, if they speak no more of it, whether we shal eftsoons enter the same; for a thing I note, that hitherto they have given us leave to move al the overtures in al points, and that only give ear: which I pray your Grace to consider, and to signify your pleasure fully in every thing accordingly. And thus with my most humble commendations to my Lord's Grace, I pray God send you both long life and good health, and as wel to do as I would mine own self. From Brussels, the last of June 1549.

Will. Paget.

---

101 CC.

The Protector's and Council's answer to Paget's letters.

Ubi supra. AFTER our right herty commendations: We have seen your letters of the 25 of June, the answer wherunto being deferred hitherto, we received yesterday your other letters of the last of the same month: and by them both do understand at good length your procedings hitherto both with the Emperor and his Council. Wherin like as you have laid a good foundation, and wel entred the matter, so have we no doubt but you wil in likewise procede to the rest, according to your accustomable good wisdom and foresight; and by the answer to be made from the Emperor upon this your conference with the Council, we think, ye shal se much of his determination, and to what effect this your journey is like to grow: wherupon we may also be occasioned to write further as shal be then thought good. In the mean time for answer unto such points, as by your further letters to me, the secretary, and sithence by your others you desire to be answered, we have thought good to signify, as followeth:

First, Where you would know, whether you shal forbear to enter any treaty of that part of your instructions touching a joynt invasion or enimity against France, til further knowledge of the French procedings; you shal understand, that from France, notwithstanding our sending, and their former answers, (as you know,) we never heard any thing til yesterday. And by letters from Mr. Wotton, we were ad-

vertised, that the French King hath appointed for commissioners on his part Monsr. de Rochepot, Monsr. de Chastillion, and one Monsr. de Mortier, one of the masters of the Requests; al three of the Councel. At the naming of whom, albeit the constable gave our ambassador very good words; yet for that the two chief of these men be officers upon their frontiers, and named by them contrary to the request made on our behalf, we doubt much what shal ensue of this meeting, notwithstanding al their fair words. And yet that notwithstanding we were of opinion before the receipt of your latter letters, that it should be best for sundry considerations, that you forbear to speak any thing of this joynt hostility. In which opinion these your letters have more confirmed us: and therefore for that matter we require you to forbear to speak any thing of it. But if the matter shall upon any occasion be set forth by the Emperors Council, you may give ear unto it: and shewing your selves, as of your selves, by some good general words, not unwilling to hear of it. Entertain their talk by such means, and after such sort as you shal think best, to feel and suck out their disposition, and what they desire, as much as you may.

And touching the comprehension of Buloign, wherin it seemeth they make some stay, we think good also, you forbear to require the same any more. We need not repeat unto you the charges or dangerous keeping, the smal commodities, and many troubles the Kings Majesty hath with that towne, and the members thereunto neer adjoyning. And if at any time after this, upon some reasonable recom- 102
pence, or for any other just or honorable ground, it should like the Kings Majesty to leave that towne, then should his Majesty and the realm be always without any cause burthened with that reciproque, which should be now received into this comprehension for Bulloygn: and therfore, and for sundry other causes, we think best you overslip that matter for comprehension.

And where by the former treaty with th'esclarishement joynt hostility is not entred, but only for invasion with eight thousand men, we would wish, if they may be brought to

assent thereunto, that the covenant be made that the joint enimity shal be for any invasion to be made by public officers or authority with the number of five hundred [five thousand.] And that this joint hostility should be not only for such an invasion, but also for the surprizing of any fort, now in the possession of either of the said princes within any of their countries comprized in the said former treaty.

Touching your desire to know, if they shal agree to the confirmation of the treaties after such or like sort as you have propened, within what time you shal agree, that the confirmation shal be made on both sides; for as much as you know the ratification in that case is to be made on the Kings Majesties behalf by authority of Parliament, which cannot be assembled before Allhallowntide at the neerest, you must of force to take the larger day, and may agree to Candlemas.

As for the names of the countries that shal confirm the said treaty on the Emperors behalf, we think that the Low Countries named in the former treaty must ratify it by the same several orders, by which they make laws and ordinances to bind their successors, like as for the King, it is to be don by Parlament. But if they shal make strange to have the same so confirmed, you may conclude for the ratification of it by the Emperors Majesty and the Prince only; and that within one month or six weeks after your agrement and conclusion of your treaty.

Touching those questions you require to be answered, what *dote* shal be offered with the Lady Mary, we would you had not gon at the first so high, as to offer 100,000 crowns, which is the most may be granted; and yet the same to be moderated in respect of the dower that shall be given by the Infant of Portugal. And as they shal ofer les or more, so may you, as your self hath already said to them, offer more or less, not exceeding in any case the offer of 100,000 crowns. The days of payment may be aggreed upon wel enough hereafter, as the matter shal grow to more ripenes. In the treating and debating wherof you wil, we doubt not, remember unto them, besides many other circumstances, the possibility the Lady Mary standeth in with us:

which albeit we trust in God shal never take effect, yet it is nevertheles to be laid as a very great matter, by means she is of reason to be the more honorably provided for: and her dower cannot in reason be les than 20,000 crowns a year. In this matter of mariage wherin, as you write, you have already largely spoken, if they shal speak no more of it, we would you should likewise pas over the same in silence. For besides that the Lady Mary, being the woman, is rather to be sued for, than offered; we think that having so much been spoken in that matter as there hath both here and there, it seemeth that they either look to be much sued unto, or do 103
not much like it: and therefore we can be wel contented, that it hath thus been once commoned of, and so leave it as before. Mary, if that matter shal chance to come again in communication, we have thought good that you, as of your self, did cast forth a word or two shortly touching Boloign, with the members neer adjoyning, to feel their disposition, and how they would like it, if you could obtain it to be released to the Emperor with this mariage of my Lady Mary. You know there shal be due for it, and the rest, to the King two millions of gold. And besides, that this town might stand the Emperor in great sted, to make some bargain for exchange of it with some other town. We mean not this as a matter here resolved to be offered, but for that we would begin to have their minds feeled, what desire the Emperor would have to have the same, or how he would harken to it. Which thing we would gladly have closely fished out by as good policy and covert means as you can devise, either upon talk of the matter of this mariage, or upon any other occasion as you shall think best: and yet the matter to be so handled, as they may by no means gather that this proceeth from hence.

We do al like very wel your motion, that it be added to the former treaty, that where the joynt hostility is or shal be, neither prince shal grant any safe conduct to any common enemy, to traffic in his realm, nor suffer any of his subjects to traffic with any such common enemy. Wherin, and in the other points before mentioned, you may treat and conclude

with them accordingly, &c. So bidding you most hearti, farewel: from Richmond, 4 July, 1549.

Your assured loving friends,

E. Somerset. W. Sent John.
R. Ryche, Canc. W. Petre, S.
John Bakere.

To our very loving friend, Sir Will. Paget, comptroller of the Kings Majesties most honorable household, presently ambassador for his Highnes with the Emperor.

DD.

The Lord Privy Seal to the Council, concerning the defeat of the rebels in the west.

Cott. Libr. Galba, B.12.

UPON Friday we marched from Exeter to Kirton; seven miles of the way was very cumberous: and on that day went no further. On Saturday we marched towards the camp at Sampford Courtney; and by the way our scouts and the rebels scouts encountred upon the Sunday on a sudden: and 104 in a skirmish between them was one Maunder taken, who was one of the chief captains. Order was given to my Lord Gray and Mr. Herbert, for the winning of time, to take a good part of our army, and with the same to make with al diligence possible towards the said camp, to view and se what service might be don for the invasion therof. They found the enemy strongly encamped, as wel by the seat of the ground, as by the intrench of the same. They kept them play with great ordinance, til more convenient way was made by the pioners: which don, they were assaulted with good courage on the one side with our foot men, and on the other side with the Italian harquebutters in such sort, as it was not long before they turned their backs, and recovered the town, which they before had fortified for al events. While this was doing, and I yet behind with the residue of the army, conducting the cariage, Humfrey Arundel, with his whole power, came on the backs of our foreward, being thus

busied with the assault of the camp: the sudden shew of whom wrought such fear in the hearts of our men, as we wished our power a great deal more, not without good cause. For remedy wherof, the L. Gray was fain to leave Mr. Herbert at the enterprize against the camp, and to retyre to our last horsemen and footmen: whom he caused to turn their faces to the enemy in shew of battail against Arundel. There was nothing for an hour but shooting of ordinance to and fro. Mr. Herbert in this mean time followed the first attempt, who, pressing stil upon them, never breathed til he had driven them to a plain fight. To the chase came forth horsemen and footmen: in the which were slain five or six hundred of the rebels: and among them was slain one Underhil, who had the charge of that camp.

At the retyre of our men I arrived, and because it waxed late, I thought good to loose no time, but appointed Sir Will. Herbert and Mr. Kyngston, with their footmen and horsemen, to set on the one side, my L. Gray to set on their face, and I with my company to come on the other side: upon the sight whereof the rebels stomacks so fel from them, as without any blow they fled. The horsemen followed the chase, and slew to the number of seven hundred, and took a far greater number. Great execution had followed, had not the night came on so fast.

At this night we sat on horseback; and in the morning we had word that Arundel was fled to Launceston: who immediately began to practise with the townsmen, and the keepers of Grenefield, and other gentlemen, for the murder of them that night. The keepers so much abhorred this cruelty, as they immediately set the gentlemen at large, and gave them their aid, with the help of the town, for the apprehension of Arundel: whom with four or five ringleaders they have imprisoned. I have sent incontinently both Mr. Carews [Sir George and Sir Peter Carow] with a good band to keep the town in a stay. And this morning I hast thither with the rest.

We have taken fifteen pieces of ordinance, some bras and som iron. Of our part there were many hurt, but not

passing ten or twelve slain. The Lord Gray and Mr. Herbert have served notably. Every gentleman and captain did their part so wel, as I wot not wel whom first to commend. I have given order to al the ports, that none of the rebels shal pas that way, &c.

105

E E.

The Duke of Somerset, lord protector, to Sir Philip Hoby, ambassador with the Emperor, imparting intelligence of the insurrections.

Cott. Libr. Galba, B. 12.

KNOWING that al such as be embassadors abroad are desirous not only of news for the love they bear to their country, naturally desiring often to hear of the state of it; but also to confirm or confute such rumours as be spred in the parts where they live; we have thought good to impart, what sith our last letters hath chanced. The Devonshire men, as wel chastised as appeased. Three others of their captains have voluntarily come in, and simply submitted themselves to Sir Tho. Pomery, Wise, and Harris; who before were fled and could not be found. And the country cometh in daily to my Lord Privy Seal by hundreds and thousands, to crave their pardon, and to be put in some sure hope of grace. Burry, and some one or two more of their blind guides that escaped from the sword, have attempted in the mean season to stir up Somersetshire, and have gotten them a band or camp: but they are sent after, and we trust by this they have as they deserve.

The Earl of Warwick lyeth neer to the rebels in Norfolk: which fain now would have grace gladly, so that al might be pardoned. Keate [Ket] and the other archtraitors in the number, upon that is [at] a stay: and they daily shrink so fast away, that there is great hope that they wil leave their captains destitute and alone to receive their worthy reward. The which is the thing we most desire, to spare as much as may be the effusion of bloud, and namely, that of our own nation.

In Yorkshire a commotion was attempted the week last past; but the gentlemen were so soon upon them, and so forward, that it was suppressed, and with weeping eyes the rest upon their knees: they wholly together desired the gentlemen to obtain their pardons. The which the Kings Majesty hath so granted unto them, as may stand with his Highnes honour: so that for the inner parts, thanks be to Almighty God, the case standeth in good point.

The causes and pretences of their uproars and risings are divers and uncertain, and so ful of variety almost in every camp, as they cal them, that it is hard to write what it is; as ye know is like to be of people without head and rule, and would have that they wot not what. Some cry, Pluck down inclosures and parks; some for their commons; others pretend religion; a number would rule and direct things, as gentlemen have don: and indeed al have conceived a wonderful hate against gentlemen, and take them al as their enemies. The ruffians among them, and soldiers cashiered, which be the chief doers, look for spoil: so that it seems no other thing, but a plague and a fury among the vilest and worst sort of men. For except only Devon and Cornwal, 106
and there not past two or three; in al other places not one gentleman or man of reputation was ever amongst them, but against their wills, and as prisoners. In Norfolk, gentlemen, and al serving men for their sakes, are as illy handled as may be: but this broyl is wel asswaged, and in maner at a point shortly to be fully ended with the grace of God, &c. Thus we bid you right heartily farewel. Aug. 24.

F F.

The Duke of Somerset to Sir Philip Hoby, concerning the suppression of the insurrections in the west, and in Norfolk.

AFTER our right harty commendations; We have her- Cott. Libr. Galba, B. 12.
tofore advertised you of the troublesome busines, uproars, and tumults, practised in sundry places of the realm, by a

number of lewd, seditious, and il disposed persons, to great disquietnes both of the Kings Majesty, and al of his Highnes quiet and loving subjects. Which tumults and commotions, albeit at the beginning they were spread in many parts of the realm, yet in the end were wel pacified and quieted, saving Devon, and Cornwal, and Norfolk: where they continued their rebellion so stubbornly, as the Kings Majesty was forced to send the Kings Highnes lieutenant, with a power both ways, the sooner to suppres them and bring them to their duty; *viz.* my Lord Privy Seal for Devon and Cornwal, and the Earl of Warwick into Norfolk. And like as we have heretofore signified unto you the procedings of my Lord Privy Seal in his journey, which by his politic and wise handling of the matter, after the slaughter of more than a thousand of the rebels, and execution of some of the ringleaders, he hath, thanks be to God, so honorably atchieved and finished, as not only the country remaineth presently in good order, but also the multitude so repent their former detestable and naughty doings, as they abhor to hear themselves spoken of.

So you shal understand, that in Norfolk the living God hath so wrought by the wisdom and manlines of my Lord of Warwick, that they also are brought to subjection by such means as insueth. The said rebels, having travailed by the space of one month or more, to allure to them such numbers of light persons as they might; and partly by that means, and partly by force and violence, at the last had assembled together a great number, did after encamp themselves neer the city of Norwich: which city they had at their commandment, and therin had placed their victuals and other provisions, whereof they had gotten large furniture. My Lord of Warwick coming to those parts, after he had thorowly understood the state of the rebels, knowing the better part of them to be such simple persons, as were either constrained by force, or otherwise seduced by those of the
107 worser sort, thought best to use such means for subduing of them as might be with least effusion of bloud, and punishment only of the heads and captains; and for this cause

travailing first to cut off their victuals, did approach the city of Norwich, which within short time he obtained; and at the getting of it, overthrew a great number of the rebels. By which means he so bridled them, and cut off their victuals, as they were fain to live three days with water for drink, and eat their meat without bread. Wherupon Thursday last, issuing out of their camps into a plain neer adjoyning, they determined to fight, and like mad and desperate men ran upon the sword: where a thousand of them being slain, the rest were content to crave their pardon.

One Ket, a tanner, being from the beginning a chief doer among them, fled; and the rest of the rebels casting away their weapons and harnes, and asking pardon on their knees with weeping eyes, were by the L. of Warwick dismissed home without hurt, and pardoned, the chief heads, ringleaders, and posts excepted. Ket, with three of his brethren, with other three chief captains, al vile persons, were also taken, who now remain in hold, to receive that which they have deserved.

Thus are these vile wretches, that have now of a long time troubled the realm, and as much as in them lay gon about to destroy and utterly undo the same, come to confusion. So that we trust verily that these traitors, mutiners, and rebellions, have now an end, lauded be God, &c. And thus we bid you heartily wel to fare. Sept. 1, 1549.

G G.

Sir William Paget to the Lord Protector, upon his rough usage of some gentlemen. Writ May 8, 1549.

IF I loved not your Grace so deeply in my heart as it cannot be taken out, I could hold my peace, as some others do, and say little or nothing; but my love to your Grace, and good hope that you take my meaning wel, hath enforced me to signify unto your Grace, that unles your Grace do more quietly shew your plesure in things wherin you wil debate with other men, and hear them again graciously say Cott. Libr. Titus, F. 3.

their opinions, when you do require it, that wil ensue wh[illegible] I would be right sory, and your Grace shal have first c[illegible] to repent: that is, that no man shal dare speak to you w[illegible] he thinks, though it were never so necessary; for you k[illegible] it: which in the end wil be dangerous unto you. For mi[illegible] own self I must confess, or else I were to blame, that [b[illegible] one of the Council, you hear me speak very gently and g[illegible] ciously; mary, I think for the most part I speak as one th[illegible] have no experience, wherby your Grace seldom is moved t[illegible] follow my advice. But in Council, as I am more liberal t[illegible] speak than others, (which if your Grace mislike, and tak[illegible] for a fault, I wil most willingly amend it,) so your Gra[illegible]
108 nipps me so sharply sometimes, as if I knew not your con-
ditions wel, and were not assured of your favour, I migh[illegible] many times, ere this time, have been blanked for speaking frankly.

Now then, Sir, if other honest men, not so wel acquainted with your nature as I am, having to do with your Grace in the Kings Majesties affair, and having occasion by your own appointment and wil to say their opinions honestly and sincerely unto you, shal be snapped, God knows what los[illegible] you shal have by it. By the living God, if I knew not how much men of service be troubled withal, I would never write this much. Poor Sir Richard Alte this afternoon, after your Grace had very sore, and too much more than needed, rebuked him, came to my chamber weeping, and there complaining, as far as became him, of your handling of him, seemed almost out of his wits, and out of heart. Your Grace to be sure have put him clean [out of countenance.] I know that like fashion of the King, that dead is, to him, had almost cost him his life. Your Grace peradventure thinketh it nothing; but by God, Sir, if you would, as I wrot once to you, cal to your remembrance, how that as you speake sometimes to men, saying their opinions contrary to that which you have conceived, if a king or cardinal in times past should have spoken to you, it would have pricked you at the stomac. You shal wel feel that words spoken by the Lord Protector goeth to a mans heart.

How soever it cometh to pas I cannot tel, but of late your Grace is grown in great cholerick fashions, when soever you are contraried in that which you have conceived in your head. A king, which shal give men occasion of discourage to say their opinions frankly, receiveth thereby great hurt and peril to his realm. But a subject in great authority, as your Grace is, using such fashion, is like to fal into great danger and peril of his own person, beside that to the commonweal: which, for the very love I bear to your Grace, I beseech you, and for Gods sake, consider and weigh wel. And also when the whole Council shall move you, or give you advice in a matter, like as they did of late for sending of men to Bulloygn, to follow the same, and to relent sometimes from your own opinion: your surety shal be the more, and your burden the less.

I trust your Grace wil take this letter in good part, for it procedeth from a good heart towards you, as God can judge. To whom I pray daily for the same weldoing to you that I wish to mine own self. And I beseech even now his divine Majesty to give you his holy Spirit and grace to do al things to his glory, the Kings Majesties honor, and your own surety and preservation. From my chamber in the Court, &c.

W. P.

H H. 109

Sir William Paget, now ambassador abroad, to the Lord Protector, upon the breaking out of the rebellion in the west: the letter bearing date July 7, 1549.

SIR, having heard here what men say of your government at home, and knowing partly before my coming forth, and partly sithence, how things go there, and in what termes you stand at home, I am put into such perplexities, as I wot not what to do. My heart bleedeth, and mine eyes, by God, distil down with weeping tears at the writing hereof. For I se at hand that coming which I have now feared of good time, the destruction of that goodly yong child, my

Cott. Libr. Titus, F. 3.

sovereign Lord, the subversion of the noble realm of England, and the ruine of your Grace, to whom of long time I have given my heart for the service of the King; and whom I have loved for the honest good nature I have judged in you. I se, I say, this sorrowful sight at hand, unles your Grace open your eyes of justice in this yong age of the King: and that out of hand, out of hand, in al the haste. If ever you have loved me, (as I believe you have, and do love me,) if ever you think I have don your Grace any pleasure in times past, or service sithence the King's father's death, pardon me now, and give me leave to write to your Grace what I think, and what my conscience binds me to write from hence: where I am in as much care for the proceding at home, as if I were present with your Grace.

Remember what you promised me in the gallery at Westminster, before the breath was out of the body of the King that dead is: remember what you promised immediately after, devising with me concerning the place which you now occupy, I trust, in the end to good purpose, howsoever things thwart now. And that was, to follow mine advice in al your procedings, more than any other mans. Which promise I wish your Grace had kept; for then I am sure things had not gon altogether as they go now. If your Grace remember, I wrot you a letter upon either Christmas day or Christmas even at night: which letter I would to God you had pleased to have considered and followed, and to have kept me as men of war use to keep their espyes, til they se the effects of their advertisements, and therupon to have used me accordingly. I was at Cassandra, I told your Grace the truth, and was not believed: wel, now your Grace seeth it. What seeth your Grace over the Kings subjects out of al disciplin, out of obedience, caring neither for Protector nor King, and much les for any other mean officer. And what is the cause? Your own lenity, your softnes, your opinion to be good to the poor; the opinion of such as saith to your Grace, Oh! Sir, there was never man had the hearts of the poor as you have. Oh! the commons pray for you, Sir, they say, God save your life.

I know your gentle heart right wel, and that your meaning is good and godly, how ever some evil men list to prate 110
here, that you have some greater enterprize in your head that lean so much to the multitude. I know, I say, your meaning and honest vertue. But I say, Sir, it is great pity, as the common proverb goeth, in a warm summer, that ever warm weather should do harm. It is pity, that your too much gentlenes should be an occasion of so great an evil as is now chanced in England by these rebells; and that saving your Graces honour, knaves say, as a knave Spanyard coming now very lately out of England, that he saw your Grace ride upon a fair goodly horse, but he trembled. Mary, he was so strong and big made, that he caried both your Grace and al the Kings Council with you at once at a burden upon his back: if I may find the gentleman, (for I seek him,) I may peradventure stop him a tyde.

Wel, Sir, things past cannot be undon, and howsoever the success falleth, you meant wel: and therfore you must do now that they may be wel. Consider, I beseech you most humbly with al my heart, that society in a realm doth consist and is maintained by means of religion and laws. And these two or one wanting, farewel al just society, farewel kings, government, justice, al other vertue. And in cometh commonalty, sensuality, iniquity, and al other kinds of vice and mischief. Look wel, whether you have either law or religion at home, and I fear you shal find neither. The use of the old religion is forbidden by a law, and the use of the new is not yet printed: printed in the stomacs of eleven or twelve parts of the realm, what countenance soever men make outwardly to please them in whom they se the power resteth. Now say for the law, where is it used in England at liberty? Almost no where. The foot taketh upon him the part of the head, and *commyns* [meaning the commons] is become a king; a king appointing conditions and laws to the governors, saying, Grant this and that, and we wil go home. Alas! alas! that ever this day should be seen in this time: and would to God, that at the first stir you had followed the matter hotly, and caused justice to have been

ministred in solemn fashion to the terror of others, and then to have granted a pardon. But to have granted pardons out of course, (I beseech your Grace bear with my zeal,) they did ever as mich good to the purpose which you meant, as the Bishop of Romes pardons were wont to do: which rather, upon hope of a pardon, gave men occasion and courage to sin, than to amend their faults. And so have your pardons given evil men a boldnes to enterprize as they do, and cause them to think you dare not meddle with them, but are glad to please them. Be it right or wrong, they must have it: victuals, they say, wools, cloths, and every other thing is dear: they must have a new price at their pleasure. By and by the commons must be pleased: you must take pity upon the poor mens children, and of the conservation and stay of this realm: and put no more so many irons in the fire at once, as you have had within this twelve month. War with Scotland, with France, tho' it be not so termed: commissions out for this matter: new laws for this: proclamation for another: one in anothers neck so thick, that they be not set by among the people.

What a good year be the inclosures lately made, that these people repine now at? Is victuals and other things so dear in England, and no where else? Is the state wherin
111 they live a new kind of life put into them? If it be so, they have some cause to complain to the King. But victuals and other things be so dear in other realms as they be in England. Which they are indeed and so dear; and that I know and feel here right wel; for I spend twice as much as I did at my last being here, and yet I keep no greater countenance. If they and their fathers before them have lived quietly above these sixty years, pastures being enclosed, the most part of these rufflers have the least cause to complain, the matter being wel weighed. What is the matter then, troweth your Grace? By my faith, Sir, even that which I said to your Grace in the gallery at the Tower the next day after the Kings first coming there, Liberty, liberty. And your Grace would have too much gentleness, which might have been avoided, if your Grace would have followed my

advice. In giving wherof, as I have been somewhat frank with your Grace apart, and seen little fruit come of it, so have I been discouraged at your Graces hands in open Council to say mine opinion, as much as ever man was. But for that, albeit the matter had grieved me not a little, yet afterwards thinking of this proverb, *A man is boldest where he loveth best*, I have passed it over, and could have born much better, if any had seen your Grace relent to counsil; I mean not of me alone: for when I give your Grace advice in a matter which you shal perceive the rest of the Councill to mislike, then take it for folly, and follow it not. But when the whole Council shal joyn in a matter, and your Grace travail to out-reason them in it, and wrast them by reason of your authority to bow to it; or first shew your opinion in a matter, and then ask theirs; alas! Sir, how can this gear do wel? I know in this matter of the commons, every man of the Council have misliked your procedings, and wished it otherwise. I know your Grace can say, No man shal answer the King for these things, but I. Sir, I fear, that if you take not another way betimes in these matters of tumult, neither you nor we shal come to answering. And yet, Sir, I believe, if any thing chance amiss, wherfore a reckoning shal be asked by the King, (as I trust in God you wil foresee there shal not,) that not only your Grace shal give the account, which have authority in your hands, but also such as did first consent and accord to give you that authority.

Methinketh I se your Grace now reading of this letter, and conceiving what you think of me for the same: for I know your Graces nature as wel as any man living. If you think as I deserve, you think me one of the truest subjects that ever prince had; and ever so I have been. And again, God judg it betwixt you and me, I have ever desired your authority to be set forth, ever been careful of your honor and surety; both for now and for evermore, ever glad to please you, as ever was gentle wife to please her husband, and honest man his master, I wys. My good Lord, alas! be no more gentle, for it hath don hurt; the more pity. I

have never been noysome to you or troublesome, if it had not been in matters of state, where your honor or good proceedings for the King hath come in place: and that I have don upon a good wil and zele of your weldoing: and wys whosoever sheweth himself most at your wil, none shal be more readier to live and dy with you than I am: and I believe verily that your Grace loveth me. Mary, peradventure you think me very bold with you to write in this fashion. Alas! Sir, pardon me, for my zele and duty to the King, the realm, and your Grace, enforceth me, and my conscience also constraineth me, being (unworthy) a counsellor.

I write this to your Grace alone, minding not to be more busy in Council, because I se you like it not; seing I have commodity otherwise to say to your Grace mine opinion. But if your Grace shal mislike also my private advertisements of mine opinion, then most humbly I beseech your Grace to discharge me of the Council, and my conscience shal be satisfied. And then in respect of my love to your Grace, (which shal never fail,) I wil fal to prayer only to God for you and your weldoing in al things.

You wil now peradventure say unto me, that I have here made a long declamation, and spoke of many things that I think might be amended, but I say nothing how. And things being grown into such a dangerous tumult, I write not what I think for mine opinion meet to be don. Yes, Sir, that wil I do. First, your Grace must remember that saying for the name of a king, and that you must do al things in the name of another. Your Grace is, during the Kings yong age of imperfection, to do his own things, as it were a king, and have his Majesties absolute power. Then, Sir, for a king, do like a king, in this matter especially: take a noble courage to you for your procedings: wherin take example at other kings: and you need not seek further for the matter: go no further than to him which dyed last, of most noble memory, K. Henry VIII. Kept not he his subjects, from the highest to the lowest, in due obedience? and how? By the only maintenance of justice in due course;

which now, being brought out of course, cannot, for any thing I se, be brought to reputation and to an establishment, but by power or force, which is a grievous hearing, if it might be otherwise: but it is better late than never, and now the sooner best of al. In Germany, when the very like tumult to this began first, it might have been appeased with the loss of twenty men: and after, with the loss of an c. or cc. But it was thought nothing, and might easily be appeased; and also some spiced consciences taking pity of the poor, who indeed knew not what great pity was, nor who were the poor, thought it a sore matter to loose so many of their even Christian [country folks,] saying, they were simple folk, and wist not what the matter meant, and were of a godly knowledg: and after this sort, and by such womanly pity and fond persuasion, suffered the matter to run so far, as it cost ere it was appeased, they say, a thousand or two thousand mens lives. By St. Mary, better so than mo.

And therfore, Sir, go to, believe me; send for al the Council that be remaining unsent abroad. And for because there are a good many of the best absent, cal to your Grace to counsil for this matter six of the gravest and most experienced men of the realm, and consult what is best to be don, and follow their advices. And for mine opinion, if the matter be so far spent, as you cannot without your men of war help it, send for your Almain horsemen, who ly at Calais, and may for a time be spared: they be in number little lack of four thousand horsemen, a goodly band as ever I saw for so many. Send for the Lord Ferris and Sir William Herbert, to bring you as many horsemen as they may bring wel out of Wales, and such as they dare trust. Let the Earl of Shrewsbury bring the like out of Derby- 113
shire, Salopshire, Stafford, and Nottinghamshire, of his servants, keepers of forests and parks. Send your self for all your trusty servants to come to you. Appoint the King to ly at Winsor, accompanied with al his officers and servants of his household, the pensioners, the men at armes, and the guard; and go your self in person, accompanied with the Almain horsemen, and the said noblemen and their

companies, first into Barkshire, commanding al the gentlemen to attend upon your Grace by such a day, at such a place, with so many trusty friends and servants as they can make. And appoint the chief justices of England, three or four of them, to resort with commission of oyer and terminer, to that good town which shal be next to the place where your Grace shal remain, accompanied with certain of the justices of the peace of the same shire: to whom your Grace must give commandment to attach him and him, to the number of twenty or thirty, of the rankest knaves of the shire. If they come peaceably to justice, let six be hanged of the ripest of them without redemption, in sundry places of the shire; the rest remain in prison. And if any rich men have been favourers to them in this matter, let the justices take good sureties of his good bearing and appearance in the Star-chamber in the next term, to abide a further order. Let the horsemen ly in such towns and villages as have been most busiest, taking enough for their mony, that rebels may feel the smart of their villany. Take the liberty of such towns as have offended into the Kings hands; you may restore them again at your plesure afterwards. If your Grace send some of the doers away far from their wives, to the north, or Boloign, to be soldiers or pioners, it would do wel. Give them no good words, or make no promise in no wise: and thus from one shire to another make a progres this hot weather, til you have perused al these shires that have offended sithence their pardons.

By this means shal your Grace redub this matter within the realm, to your great praise, honour, and estimation in al places abroad: which, I assure your Grace by my fidelity, is by reason hereof touched wonderfully, both here and in al other places of Christendom. Your Grace may say, I shal loose the hearts of the people: of the good people you shal not, and of the evil it maketh no matter. By this means you shal be dread, which hitherto you are not, but of a very few that be honest men. By this means you shal deliver the King an obedient realm; and may in the mean time,

keping your office, be able for the service of the King to command what you list; and so shal be able to continue it, if you wil meddle no more with private suits, but remit them to ordinary courses. If you reply, Shal I not hear poor mens cases? Why, Sir, when you send him to the Chancery, do you not hear him? So I do, saith your Grace, with a letter. Yea, mary Sir, but this letter marreth al: for it hath a countenance of your Graces favour in the matter. And, Sir, where your Grace saith, that they be a few that with inclosures, &c. give this account. Hold your peace to your self, and at leisure in the winter: [a] let them be sent for one by one, and had in confession, and let such of them as be offenders smart for it: wherby both the Kings Majesty may have a profit, and the poor men, if that be the sore, be relieved.

[a] Sense imperfect.

Lo! Sir, thus have I truly and frankly written to your 114
Grace what I think; and believe verily, upon the knowledg of mine own sincerity of conscience, that you wil take it graciously: for I mean truly and lovingly to your Grace, God I take to witnes, whom I beseech with al my heart daily to send you as wel to do, as ever man had wished to any other, &c.

W P.

II.

A letter sent from the Lord Paget concerning Bulloign, to the Earl of Warwick, then lord great master, the 22d of February, 1549.

THESE French men, ye se how lofty they are and haultain in al their procedings with us; and no mervail, for so they be of nature, and our estate (which cannot be hidden unto them) encreaseth their courage not a little. They wil have Bulloin, they say, by fair means or by foul: they wil no longer be tributaries, (as they terme yt.) And here they set furth the power of their King, and of ours as littil as they list, with such bragging and braving termes and countenances, as, yf your Lordship had heard and seen Rochepot, MSS. penme.

ye would have judged hym a man more mete to make a peace a warre, than of warre a peace.

Debt they wil recognize none: for they say, (though they say untruly,) that you have made them spend, and have taken upon the seas of theirs, ten times as much as the debt comyth to. Nevertheles, say they, let us have Bulloine, and wype away al pretences that you make to us, and aske a reasonable summe, and we wil make you a reasonable aunswer. Or yf ye wil not, in respect of your masters yong age, acquit his pretence, let us have Bulloin, and we wyl agree with you for yt upon a reasonable summe, and reserve you to your master the *droicts*, that he pretendeth, and we to ours his defences for the same, and so to make a peace. And yf ye afterwards demaund nothing of us, we demaund nothing of you: kepe you within your lymits which God hath gyven you enclosed with the seas, (saving your Calays, wherunto ye have ben maried theis two or three hundred yeres, and therfore God send you joy with it,) and we our lymitts upon the land, and we shal lyve together in peace. And other bargain than this we wil not make.

To repete here what reasons we made to enduce them to reason, that shal not nede, though I for my own part could devise litil: yet I assure your Lordship, with the good help of theis wise men, to whom I am assocyate, there was,
115 I beleve, as much said, as wherby they ought to have ben persuaded to agre to our requests; but al would not serve.

By the consent of the colleagues, I provoked a private talk betwene Mortier, or Chastillon, and me, or some other of us, apart, thinking therby to have practised sumwhat: but it would not be. They would in no wise talk apart with any of us, but, We wil have this, and wil have none other: we pray you of a short aunswer, for we wil not tary: we wil not advertise our master, for it nedyth not: we know his mynd fully; and yf he had mynded eny thing ells, then we know, no dowbt, but he wold have declared it unto us. And so after some consultation, agreed at the last to tary tyl we did advertise, and heard out of England

again; requiring us to send for any ample and determinate resolution for every thing.

Lo! Sir, thus standeth the case: and what is now to be don, in good faith, I cannot wel tel, and am at my witts end. Their *orgul* is intolerable, their disputations be unreasonable, their conditions to us dishonorable, and, which is worst of al, our estate at home miserable. What then? Of many evils, let us chuse the least. Then first, we must knowledg (which we cannot denye) the evil condition of our estate at home: which recognisaunce is the first degree to amendment. The next is, to know the cause of the evil; and that is warre, supposed to be, yf not the only, at the least one of the chiefest amongst many great. How many, how great occasions of mischief the warre hath engendred to England? Of yll mony, wherby outward things be dearer. Of conveying out of al kind of our commodities to forrein parts, under pretence of our furniture of men of warre, wherby our inward things be dearer; of breeding idlenes among the people, great couraiges, disposition to imagyne and invent novelties, grudgings, devices to amend this and that, and an hundred myscheves more; which make my hart sorry to thynk upon: and these be the frutes of warre. Then yf the disease wil not be taken away, but the causes be taken away, also warre (which is one chief cause) must be taken away. But that shal not be taken away (say the French) but upon this condition or that condition, as before I have spoken of two. They wil have Bulloin, they say, and quarels quyte crossed, and gyve you a somme of money, and make peace, leaving to each prince his pretences and defences. But thys, say we, may be the occasion of a new warre another tyme. Demaund, say they, nothing of us, no more then we wil demaund of you; and then that shal be no new occasion.

Wel, what moveth us to stick? Mary, the leaving of Bulloin. Ye do consider, whyther we be hable to kepe yt, *maulgre* the French. Rochepot sayth, and braggeth, that their King is not a King John, but a French King, such as hath conquered Rome, and bene feared of the rest; and

vil have Bulloin again, (whosoever sayeth nay,) and tell us, how we are in poverty and mutinies at home, beset al about with enemies, having no frinde to socour us; destitu of mony to furnish us, and so far in debt as hardly we can find any credytors. Yf yt be not this, then Rochepot lyeth: but yf yt be this, it is good to consider, whither yt be better to let them have Bulloin again, and to have sumwhat for yt.

116 and to lyve in peace, tyl our master come to a more age, leaving to hym some store of mony to revenge hym, (yf then he shal think he have cause reasonable,) to have good opportunite for the stay of the things at home, and to put in good our polycy; or els, for want and insufficiency, to lose Bulloin without any recompence, to lyve in warre without synews; and for lack of good opportunite, to be forced to let things at home unredressed.

Yea, but the pension is a gret matter. Wote you what the French commissioners say? It is true, (they say,) the pension was grawnted, but the tyme is tourned: then was then, and now is now. Yt was grawnted by the French King that dead is, (they say,) to the King of England that dead is, and to his successors in the crown of England. The King of France (they say) cannot by hys symple grawnt, without confyrmation of Parlyament, bind his successors. And so (say they) the same treaty, where the pensyon is grawnted, doth purport. And when (say they) was yt grawnted? Mary, when your master saw tyme to make his bargain best, though his ministers toke not hede to knytt it surely up by Parlyament. And that tyme was, when he had the gages in his hand; *viz.* our master and themperour at one tyme, and so might make his bargain hymself as he lyst. And we wil use yt as you did, when tyme served you: for we know our estate, and that you are not hable to war with us. With these and such other comparysons the French face us.

Wel then, they wyl, yt semyth, pay us no pension; now is it to be considered, whither it be better to forbear our pension, (for they are so good unto us (God yelde it them) as to reserve our pretence,) to lose Bulloin, and to have nothing

in recompence, and to lyve stil in warre; or els to lose Bulloin, to forbear our pension, to have some recompence, to lyve in peace, &c. and to leave to our master his claim, yf he shal think yt good.

I am sorye I have not here the copy of the treaties of peace made in an. 14 and 15 of our Lord; which was upon the first warres of the King our late master, of most worthy memory: for yf I had, then could I write therof certainly. I pray your Lordship in any wyse to cause that to be furthwith looked up; for yt is to purpose. But, as I remember, yt shal appere that then our said master, being left by the King his father mervelous welthy, rich, wel obeyed of his subjects, in peace; furnished with friendship of Spain, Flanders, Rome, and Almaine, entred the warrs to recover his right of France. But in conclusion what right gat he? Mary, made a peace, and calculing certain old debts to King Edward his graundfather, and some to the King his father, agreed with the French King upon a mas of ten hundred thousand crowns, to be payd, as I remember, in yeres, without having any pension, or other thing. Delivered afterward Turwin and Turnaye: having for Turwyn nothing, and for Turnaye (which had cost the keping no smal sommes of mony) six hundred thousand crownes. This being thus, as I take yt to be, (praying your Lordship to let yt be loked up,) the exemple is much to move the peace.

Now comparing the times, the estates, and al other circumstances of the Kings Majesty our master that now is, to the tyme, estates, and circumstances of the King his father, being in his most florishing prosperitie, which yt may like you by your wisdome to consider with the rest of the 117
wise heddes there, and to take in good part my good meaning in this matter: which is not to prejudice your wisdomes, (knowing my self a fool,) but to lay before you the fondnes of my imagination: which yf you find fond in al degrees, lay that under the feet, (I pray you,) and cover yt with a heap of my good wyl and desire. But that the affairs shuld go wel forward, I could not chuse but open my

fantasie: and the rather, for that your Lordship and [illegible] others, that be my good lords and frends, have the [illegible]ninge of them; beseching God to give you the grace [illegible]mayne and conduct them as I do wish.

If you find any thing in it not fond, use yt as you [illegible]. It may please your good Lordship to move the rest, that [illegible] ye shal think good to agree upon a somme of mony, then [illegible] advertise us in your common letter the most and the least, the maner of the payment, in hand or at dayes. If at any days, (which under correction I wish not, though yt [illegible] less,) than what dayes, and what assurance for the payment. *Item*, the lowest point you wil come to for Scotland. And thus with my humble and most hartie commendations, &c.

K K.

The prayer used at a public fast for a great dearth.

As yt pleasyth God, so be yt.

Foxii MSS. OH! eternal, everlastyng, and righteous God, before whose Hyghnes we, presentyng us this day accordyng to our dewtyes, and fourme of thy word, do confess unto thee owr offences, sinnes, and wickednes, which thus have desarved theys thy great plagis and grevous punishments; for neglectyng thy word and brekyng thy commaundments. And as thou hast commaundyd by Joel thy prophet to *preclayme a fastyng, to call the congregacion, gatheryng the elders and inhabyters of the land unto the house of God, and cry unto hym, sayeing, Alass! alass! for thys day. And why? the Lords day is at hand, and comyth as a destroyer from the Almighty. The sede shal perish in the grownd, the gravers shal ly wast, the floris shall be broken down: for the corn shal be destroyed.* And *hycaus*, sayeth Aggeus, *every man runne to his owne, the heavens is forbodden to gyve eny dew, the earth is forboden to gyve you encrease. I have callyd for a drowght upon the land and moontayns, upon corn, upon wyne, upon oyl, and every thing that the grownd bryngyth furth, upon men, upon cattel, and upon al*

Lawdy labour. And also, O Lord God, as thou hast sayd by Moses, that yf owr harts deceyve us, thow beyng wroth ageynst us, wouldest *shut up the heavens, that ther be no rayne, and that the land shuld not yeld furth hyr encrease.* And thowgh we have deservyd, as in Ahabs tyme Elias prayer prevaylyd, that for the space of three yeris no rayne or dew dyd fal, tyl al thyngs was consumyd, as now thys day yt ys cum to pass: yet, O Lord, behold us with the 118
Ninivites, owr humylyacion befor thy Maiestie, apperyng thus this day, to cal on thee for mercy, which with Solomon pray unto thee, *Yf that the heaven be shut up, and that there be no rayne, byeause that we have synnyd against thee, yet prayeng in this place, and knowledge to thy name, and turne us from owr synnes through thy skourging us, then heare thou us in heaven, and be merciful to the synnys of thy sarvants and people, that thow shew us that good way, wherin for to walk, and gyve rayne on the land thow hast gyven us to enheryt.* Send, O Lord, thy sweet dewes of thy heavenly grace, so to refresh and water the plants of owr harts, that we so repent, and so optayne thy marcy, as this our general prayer may be acceptyd of thee. And as thow hast promysyd, *wher two or three be gatheryd together in thy name to grawnt their requests*, behold here so many as callyth upon thee in feyth and humylyacion. Appealyng to thy marcy, thow canst us not deny to grawnt us owr requests; lest the ungodly bost against the cause of our religion. They wold deny thy favour unto us oft extendyd, they, seyng now thy work in our peticion grawntyng, may with us altogether prayse and worship thee with thanks for this thy marcy. To whom, O God owr Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost, be al prayse and glory, for ever and everlastingly. *Amen.*

L L.

Bucer to A Lasco, concerning the controversy about wearing the habits.

Amplissimo Domino et Colendissimo Symmystæ, Joanni A Lasco.

E Biblioth. D. Joh. D. Episc. Elien.

THE Lord graunt unto us, in these troublesome times of the Church, to begin and finish al things, that offences and dangers be not encreased. *Amen.*

The more diligently I weigh and consider, both what fruit we may gather by this controversy of vestures, and also what Satan goeth about therby to work, I would have wished before the Lord, that it never once had been spoken of, but rather that al men of our function had agreably and stoutly gon forward, and continued in teaching true repentance, the wholsome use of al things, yea, and commending and putting on the apparel of salvation. I se, not in a few, alas! I say, I se mervailous diligence in abolishing Amalec, concerning stones, stocks, vestures, and those things that be without us, when in their deeds and whole life they most stiffly maintain the whole Amalec stil. I know also some that help forward this strife, so that in the mean time the chief and most necessary points are les regarded and called upon; that is, of removing sacrilegious persons from spoiling of churches, of providing fit ministers for every parish, of the restoring of disciplin again.

119 As for my part, if I thought ceremonies and vestures were impure of themselves, I would not take upon me in any wise the office of a bishop, till by ordinary authority they were taken away, &c. But to the purpose, I think it not impertinent unto this matter, that we al be admonished to take heed of Satans accustomed slights, wherby he leadeth us away from the care of necessary things, to carefulness about those things which may be wel let pass, and from the searching out of the true doctrin of Christ, to induce to use those things wherin few can consent alike; and finally, by the which he kindleth in divers men a zele to purge those things which are without us; therby to neglect our inward

deformities. And seeing whatsoever we do, in word or deed, both privately and publicly, we ought to do it in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, giving thanks by him to God the Father; surely it is our duty no les circumspectly to beware, that we neither do, nor leave undon any thing wherby we have not sure or certain authority out of Gods word, touching our actions and matters, domestical and ecclesiastical. It is alway and in all things sin, whatsoever is not of faith of the certain word of God.

But to consider this question in it self. I have, according to my gift, weighed your reasons; and yet I can perceive no other, but that the use of al external things, as wel in holy ceremonies as in private matters, ought to be left free to the churches of God. I cal that *free use* wherin godly men use things created of God without any superstition, and to a certain edifying of their faith in Christ. I verily, as I have confessed unto you, and have declared indeed unto our countrymen, had rather that no kind of vesture which the Papists used were retained among us. And that both for the more ful detestation of the Antichristian priesthood, and also for plainer advouching of Christian liberty; yea, and to be short, for the avoiding of dangerous contentions among the brethren. Tho' notwithstanding I would have the ministers of churches to use sage vesture, and such wherby they might be discerned from other men. But chiefly, I would have al the disciplin of Christ to be in force among us. Yet I cannot be brought by any scriptures, as far as I se hitherto, to deny, that the true ministers of Christs Church may use without superstition, and to a certain edification of faith in Christ, any of those vestures which the Antichristians abused. For what should let, but that the churches may use that *white vesture*, or more vestures, to admonish us precisely of that divine benefit which he by the holy ministry of the Church dealeth unto us: the benefit, I say, of the light and dignity of that heavenly doctrin; and by the which also the ministers themselves may be the more mindful of their office, and had, both for it, and by the admonishment of that outward token, in

greater reverence of the common people of the Church? Whether we wil or no, we are compelled to confes, that the ensignes of them that bear public offices help somewhat to retain and encrease the authority of magistrates and public powers, if other things want not, by the which the true reverence is given unto them. For if these things be not joyned with *ensignes*, they induce not a veneration, but rather the singular detestation of them who unworthily use these notes of vertue. *Ensignes* indeed are signes, and not
120 the things: yet how much they are able to admonish and move the mind, God giving the encrease, he that observeth wil wonder.

Wherfore, wheras otherwise the true dignity of ministers is evident, and if any particular Church by public judgment do consent upon the retaining of certain vestures, only for the commending unto us of the gifts of God, which he giveth by the ministry of the Church; and for to put the yonger and ruder sort in mind without al superstition, truly I cannot se, why such use of vestures in such a Church may not serve to some commendation of the holy ministry, and so consequently to the edification of faith. For what let is there, but that at this day they which are endued with the same spirit of faith, may use a few signes as godly, as the antient holy men have used many. They had, you wil say, expres writing concerning the use of their signes. I grant; and indeed it made much touching the true use of their signes. But in that God did command the use of those and many other things, we certainly know that the use of those signes may serve, he giving grace, to promote true religion; and that it hath none uncleannes in itself or superstition, neither can be by the abuse of the wicked so polluted, that it cannot be healthful to godly men, using it godly. Now when as God by his word hath sanctifyed al things by our prayers, and hath made al things pure to the pure, what cause can we allege out of the word of God, to deny, that God wil not bless such use of signes wherof we speak, that it should not be effectuous to that Church, to some commendation of the ministry, and therof also to some edification

of faith? For how can it be, but that he which promised to bles al the work of our hands, which we take in his name, wil deny his blessing to these signes, seing he hath no where forbidden such an use of them as we have expounded, and hath made us lords of his sabboth, and al other things of this world?

But if we grant that these things which I have spoken concerning the use of such signes, may be, it is certainly the part of brotherly charity, commanded us by God, to leave such use of such signes in such a Church, free to the judgment and conscience of that congregation; except we se an open abuse either of superstition, as if these things were used as containing in them some part of godly worship of themselves; or of contention, as if they displeased the greater and better part of the Church; or of getting of good wil of some men, whom in these things we ought not to gratify, because they therby go about to bring a servitude unworthy for Christian men.

It is evident at S. Pauls time, by the most clear scriptures of God, that the use of days, meats, and al other particular things were made free. And it was a sure token of infirmity in faith to doubt therof. Yet the Holy Ghost pronounceth, that such weaklings ought to be received, not to the troubling of their cogitations, and not to be contemned of the stronger in faith. And that in these things it might be granted to every one to be sure of his own sense, seeing that the Lord hath received these weaklings. Now if the Holy Ghost would have men to yield so much to them which were in a manifest error, in as much as they depended upon him in the chiefest and necessary parts of sincere religion, what ought to be granted to these concerning the free use of external things, which we cannot convict 121
of any error by Gods word? For howsoever I expend and examine those your two arguments, (that is, they are the imitation of the Aaronical priesthood, and the marks of Antichrists priesthood, and therfore ought to be eschued of them that love Christ,) yet that thing which you would is not hereby excluded. For to imitate Aarons ceremonies is

not of it self vitious, but only then when men use them as necessary to salvation, or to signify that Christ is yet for to come, to take flesh upon him. For if by no means it be lawful to use those things which were of Aarons priesthood, or of the gentils, then is it not lawful for us to have churches nor holydays. For there is no expres commandment by word. It is gathered notwithstanding from the example of the old people, that they are profitable for us to the encrease of godlines.

Which thing also experience proveth. For any thing to be a note of Antichrist, is not in the nature of any creature in it self, (for to that end nothing was made of God,) but it hangeth altogether of consenting to Antichrists religion, and the professing therof. The which consent and profession being changed into the consent and profession of Christianity, there can stick in the things themselves no note or mark of Antichrists religion. The use of bels was a mark of Antichristianity in our churches, when the people by them was called to masses, and when they were rung against tempests; now they are a token of Christianity, when the people by them are gathered together to the gospel of Christ, and other holy actions. Why may it not then be, that the self same garments may serve godly with godly men, that were of wicked signification with the ungodly? Truly, I know very many ministers of Christ, most godly men, who have used godly these vestures, and at this day do yet use them. So that I dare not for this cause ascribe unto them any fault at al, much les so hainous a fault of communicating with Antichrist. For the which fault we may utterly refuse to communicate with them in Christ. The priests of devils did celebrate in their sacrifices the distribution of bread and the cup, as Justinus Martyr and Tertullian make mention. What let is there why we may not use the same ceremonies also? You wil say, We have a commandment of the Lord touching this ceremony. Very wel: and by the self same it appeareth, 'same thing to serve among the children of God to the service of Christ, which the wicked abused in the service of devils, if the

commandment of Christ be added therto. But it is the commandment of Christ, that in our holy actions we institute and use al things, so as comelines and order be observed, that faith may be edified.

Now if any Church judge and have experience, (such as I doubt not there are many this day in Germany,) that the use of such vesture bringeth some commendation to the holy ministration, and therby helpeth somewhat in the way of comelines and order to the encrease of faith; what, I pray you, can be brought out of the Scriptures, why that Church is not to be left to her own judgment in this matter, neither therfore to be contemned, or to be called into question for her judgment sake? That Church verily wil keep in these things a mean agreeable to the cros of Christ, and wil diligently attend, that no abuse creep into it. If ther- 122
fore you wil not admit such liberty and use of vesture to this pure and holy Church, because they have no commandment of the Lord, nor no example of it, I do not se how you can grant to any Church, that it may celebrate the Lords supper in the morning, and in an open church especially consecrate to the Lord; that the sacrament may be distributed to men kneeling or standing, yea, to women as wel as to men. For we have received of these things neither commandment of the Lord, nor any example; yea, rather the Lord gave a contrary example. For in the evening, and in a private house, he did make his supper, and distribute the sacrament, and that to men only, and sitting at the table.

But it wil be objected, that in England many use vestures with manifest superstition, and that they do nourish and confirm in the people superstition. Even so, it may be answered, very many abuse al this whole sacrament, as also baptism, and al other ceremonies. Therfore let us withstand this mischief, and vanish it utterly. Wherunto, tho' it may be that the taking away of vestures may help something, yet to drive away al this mischief it will not suffice. Nay, the priests themselves must be first removed, and in their rooms placed faithful ministers in the kingdom of Christ,

such as be learned indeed, and godly affected. To [illegible] therfore, to this, I say, must we chiefly endeavour our selves, that the hearts of the people may be purged [illegible] faith: which faith is first encreased by the hearing of [illegible] word of God. This hearing is brought by the preach[illegible] the gospel.

Such therfore let us pray for. And that there may [illegible] store of them, let us be earnest in our reformation: let [illegible] be a visitation of the Universities, whence many fit mini[illegible] for churches may be gotten: let us never cease to cry out against that sacrilege, that the fattest benefices are gran[illegible] to unworthy men, in respect of their worldly service; that the parishes are so miserably undon through *papistical* slights and violence. These, these, I say, are certain *papistical* facts: against these ought we chiefly to bend our force; but to be stout and earnest against stones, stocks, vestures, and such other things, which of themselves neither bring gain, plesure, nor honor, it is a very easy matter to the hearer and speaker, especially those that be discharged from papistical superstition: for by the shaking off such things, great mens stomacs are not offended. But to remove church-robbers from the spoils of churches, and to do al things possible to this end and purpose, that every parish may be provided of convenient ministers, and that curats may have sufficient for their sustentation, and to aid them to the ful restitution of Christs disciplin; this is a thing of great moment. This is a hard thing to al them which are not able to say with S. Paul, *For Christ is to me life, and death is to me advantage.* And again, *God forbid that I should rejoyce, saving in the cros of our Lord Jesus Christ, wherin the world is crucified to me, and I to the world.*

It pleaseth me right wel, that al Antichrists trash should be removed as far as might be: I mean not only his ensignes and marks, but al his steps and shadows, in what thing soever they seem to stand, whether it be in stocks, stones, garments, or whatsoever other thing else it be. But let us endeavour our selves to banish first the body and substance of Antichrist; and then after, his ensignes, steps, and sha-

dows. The body and substance of Antichrist consisteth in 123
the wicked destroyers and spoilers of churches: by whose means not only Christs disciplin, but also the whole doctrin is opprest, and put out of place.

When I consider these things, and again look back, as I ought to do, towards the precepts of the Lord, and his examples, I wish with al my heart, that as many of us that wil be Christs followers indeed, even so we earnestly go about to restore his kingdom, as the Lord himself went about to begin it, and that we seek it before al other things; and let the preachers in al doctrin and disciplin instruct the people, and be such, who, for our Lord Christs sake, and the preaching of the gospel, wil be ready to leave al; and that by these mens ministry we bring the people to the kingdom of Christ. And let us appoint to every flock thereof faithful shepherds, who may labour no les to cal again the true notes and marks of Christianity, as to abolish utterly the marks and notes of Antichristianity: which I would so abolished, that there remained not so much as the memory of them in any mens hearts. But seing that these things cannot be brought to pas without Christs kingdom be fully received, I would wish that al we should to that end bestow al our strength unto the which work. Forasmuch as we need many workfellows, I would wish, with al such as truly love the Lord Jesus, that we set apart all dissension, and joyn in one perfect concord, to endeavour our selves to set upon the common adversary.

We se now, being taught by the experience of so many years, that the Lord granteth but to a few to depart from that sentence which they have once fastened themselves in; especially if they have also contended for the same: so that we shal be enforced either to dissolve Christian communion with many whom the Lord hath received, or else we must give place one to another; to the intent that either of them may rest in their own judgment, tho the other dissent. It is a very hard thing indeed, yea to most holy men, to deny themselves; and he is seldome found among men, which would not be content rather to yield in his patrimony, than

in the opinion of his wit. Now then, when as we see Almighty God bear this our infirmity in us so mercifully, on the hardnes of our hearts, if the example of our Lord and God cannot encline and mollify our hearts to the like mercy and patience.

Wherfore I conclude that we ought to take great diligent heed, first, that we take not upon us straitway to determine al questions as they rise; yea, let us stir none at al, which throughly tend not to the kingdom of Christ: let us acknowledg the weaknes of our wit and judgment; let us stand in fear of our natural arrogancy, and our peevish self wil in our own inventions. Al things necessary unto salvation are set unto us openly, clearly, and plenteously in the holy Scriptures; and in the study and perfection therof every one of us wanteth very much. Let us labour then to fulfill, and once to make up our imperfections with godly studies. Of al other matters let us dispute most warily, let us define most slowly or never, let us contend at no time. If at any time through craft of Satan, or our own neglegence, variance shal
124 rise in these things, let us betimes leave off from the same, as soon as we can, by whatsoever way we may; or els let us make some truce in them: seldome is there any victory obtained, yea, never whole victory gotten.

Hereby, most godly Sir, you se undoubtedly what is best to be don, both in this controversy of vestures, as also of the liberty of other ceremonies. I had rather than much goods this question had never been moved: but now seing it is moved, I wish it to be given over, and deferred to some other time. These your two arguments, "It is a piece of "Aarons priesthood, and therfore contumelious towards "Christ now exhibited, as then glorious when he was to be "exhibited." Secondarily, "These are notes of Antichris-"tianity, and therfore not to be used of men given to "Christianity." These reasons, I say, conclude not, in my judgment, that which you took in hand: for we borrow many things godly from the order of Aaron's priesthood to the glory of Christ now exhibited. So many things which the Antichrists have made marks of their impiety, may be

made tokens of the kingdom of Christ; as the signes of bread and wine, the water of baptism, the laying on of the hands, preachings, churches, holy days, and many other things. Also these places of Scripture are of great scope; *The earth and the fulnes therof is of the Lord;* not of the Devil, not of Antichrist, not of the wicked, not against the Son of man, Lord of his sabboth: and, *The sabboth is made for man, and not man for the sabboth:* and, *Al things are pure to the pure:* and, *Every creature of God is good,* nor can be defiled by good men, by the abuse of evil men. The word of God must be followed in al respects, as wel in our private actions as public: for al things are to be don in the name of the Lord Jesus and to the glory of God. Then such liberty as we grant to our selves in our private use of external things, let us not deny in public. The true Spirit of Christ going about to overthrow Antichrist, overthroweth first those things which are chief and peculiar unto him: for first the Spirit of Christ endeavouring the restitution of Christ's kingdom, restoreth first doctrin and disciplin, which be the chief and peculiar points of Christs kingdom.

This colourable craft of Satan also must be taken heed of, by the which he bringeth to pas oftentimes, that either we reckon those things sins which are no sins, and those that be sins indeed we seem not to regard them in our selves; or els, against those sins which our conscience defines to be sins indeed, we use no such severity as we ought.

The Lord grant that you, right worshipful friend, may religiously weigh these things. I know you seek the glory of Christ, and I have heard of you, wherin I rejoice, that you are careful of your judgment, so that you dare not straitway reckon the same for sure and certain, tho' you seem to follow plainly the word of God, thinking with your self that you are a man, and that you may slide out of the way: therfore I desire and beseech you, by the cross of the Son of God, by the salvation of the churches, which are at this day overwhelmed with calamities, by the desired consent that we should seek to reign in al churches, by the peace that is in Christ Jesus; again, I desire and beseech you, that you do

nothing rashly in this question of *ceremonies*. You have
125 seen weak members in the churches of Saxony; you have
seen also many things, for the which you give God thanks.
Let no man therfore, except it be upon great necessity, cast
off those whom the Lord hath so notably taken to him. O,
would to God the state of the churches of France, Italy,
Poland, were brought to this point. Let us in this realm
take godly heed, that we suffer not unawares the Devils in-
tent, who throweth in among us sundry questions and con-
troversies; lest we should take in hand to hinder the question
of setting forward the doctrin of the gospel, and restoring
of disciplin; and therby to remove al drones from ecclesias-
tical and scholastical ministries: this Satan, when he cannot
retain the order of bishops wholly in service unto him, he
goeth about utterly to abolish this order; and by that occa-
sion so to spoil the churches, that while due stipends want,
the holy ministry may be committed to the vilest of the
rascal people.

Let us take heed of these cogitations of Satan, and let us
withstand them as much as we can, by the power of the
Lord; and by no means unadvisedly to help them forward:
for we are, who sincerely profess the Lord Jesus, and none
of us there is, which is not opprest with much infirmity.
Therfore let us receive one another as the Lord hath re-
ceived us: let us yield mutually one to another, as the Lord
hath yielded to us: which sincere and dutiful love, if it bear
stroke among us, we shal be able with one spirit and one
mouth, and with our whole might, to discomfit the body
and substance of Antichrist. And so afterward, without any
offence of the good, and with certain edification of faith
among the children of God, we may bring to pas the utter
defaceing of al the marks, steps, and shadows of Antichrist.

Oh! Lord Jesu, thou our only peacemaker, as wel with
the Father, as between our selves, banish out of our minds
whatsoever draweth us insunder, whatsoever darkneth the
clearnes of judgment among our selves, whatsoever by any
way hindreth the absolute concord in thy ministers, in de-
fence of thy kingdom, and in destroying the tyranny of Anti-

christ. Pour into our minds thy Holy Ghost, which may lead us into al truth: who grant us to se and take in hand al one thing; but first of al that which is chiefest: wherby the strength of thy kingdom may be restored unto us, and al things pertaining to Antichrist may clearly be blotted out of al mens hearts and memories. The goodnes and love of the Son of God, for his infinite love sake towards us, vouchsafe to give us these things, to the glory of his name, to the salvation of the elect, and that the wicked say not stil, Where is their Christ? Amen.

Deditissimus tibi in Domino,
Martinus Bucerus.

MM. 126

Hooper to Martin Bucer, for his judgment concerning wearing the habits.

To Mr. Martin Bucer, D. D. his worthy reader, and master most reverend, grace and peace from the Lord, &c.

FOR what cause I am now in trouble, most reverend, ye shal understand by this messenger in writing. I pray you that you would vouchsafe once to give it the reading: and if that you shal espy any error therin, I desire you to signify it unto me by your letters. If any thing hath been uttered too darkly, and with fewer words than the cause requireth, I pray you that you would set it out in the margin with more light and apter words. If ye se the cause just and meet for a godly minister, subscribe therunto in the end, I heartily pray you. E Biblioth. Joh. D. Ep. Elien.

I send you al that I have written before, three years ago, upon the Ten Precepts; that your worthines may know what my judgment is in the case of *divorse*. I pray you, vouchsafe to read it, that if I have erred in this part by humane oversight, I may be advertised by your learning and fatherly admonition, that I may reform the same. I pray your fatherhood therfore, and I doubt not but I shal soon

obtain, that you would help the Church in her conflicts the great and most notable gifts of God undoubtedly bestowed upon you. I require the same of Mr. Doctor [illegible] Martyr. To whom, after your sentence and prudent judgment is known, this messenger which I send, shal repair. The Lord Jesus long preserve your worthines. At London the 17 Octob. 1550.

Yours in heart and prayer al whole,
John Hoper.

N N.

Martin Bucer to John Hoper, in answer to the foregoing letter.

Ubi supra. GRACE and peace from the Lord. Reverend Sir, I have diligently perused over your letters and writings concerning *apparel:* and verily this controversy, which so grievously hindreth your ministry and other, maketh me exceeding sory. I could have wished to have given a great
127 deal, that either it had not been moved at al, or els that it were speedily removed and taken away: for by these lets and stays, Satan prolongeth his ful banishment from among the people of God. How much I desire, good Sir, to have al things reduced as wel to the apostolic simplicity in external things, as also to the ful and perfect religion of advancing Gods glory, not only in matters internal, but also external, I trust, you doubt nothing at al: for whersoever the congregations have heard me speak, as at Argentine, Ulma, Augusta, Casella, and many other places, I never procured to have a special kind of apparel in the administration of the sacraments. And that abuse which I se of these garments remaining stil in England in many places, (the more pity,) I would gladly suffer some great torment in my flesh that they were wel taken away, not only with al the marks and badges of Antichrists profession, but also with al the sinews and peculiar detriments which as yet in most horrible sort bear sway every where in England: for church

robbers do stil hold and spoil the chief parish churches, and commonly one man hath four, or six, or more of them. And it is reported, that there are many which bestow two or three benefices upon their stewards or huntsmen; and yet on that condition, that they may reserve a good portion of the ecclesiastical profits unto themselves alone, and cause vicars to serve the cures, such as they may hire best cheap, not such as are most fit for that office. Both the Universities, out of which meet persons ought to be taken, are miserably troubled by many, which either are Papists or epicures.

Hereof it is that there are so few gospellers, that ye shal have many churches which in five, six, or more years, have heard no godly sermon. Al divine service is so coldly, disorderly, and blindly uttered of the counterfeit parish priests or vicars, that it is as wel understood of the people, as if it were read in the Afric or Indian tongue. Baptism is ministred in the presence of a few light women, that have more mind of dallying. When mariages are solemnized, they prattle and play. The Lords supper in many places celebrated as a mas, from which the people know not that it any thing differeth, but that it is used in the mother tongue; and some one hired for money receiveth the sacraments. As for Christs flock, there is no due regard of it. They make no conference of the Catechism with the ignorant sort. There is no public nor private admonition given to them which be slack in their duty, or otherwise offend, wherby the grievous offenders might be bound to repentance; and they which have don penance might be absolved; and they which stubbornly despise the congregation, might be accounted for infidels. How many of them knoweth that God hath so commanded? They which have made no confession of their faith either in word or deed before the congregation, are admitted to al things belonging to Christ. They come with empty hands before the face of God into the holy congregation. There is no due regard of the poor. The Church hath no patrimony. The churches are common for ungodly tales and bargains; and at service time the most part are trifling, or occupied with worldly affairs. The law of the

H. Ghost concerning apparel set forth by Paul and Pe
that our women, (much rather men,) should be attired wit
comely apparel, with shamefastness and modesty, not wit
128 broydred hair, gold, pearls, &c. is not observed in
churches, where the gospel of Christ crucified is preach
and the communion ministred: so where the *disciplin* is
neglected, yea, rather it is unknown what the Church is,
what the communion of saints is, what the kingdom of
Christ is; it cometh to pas, that al fear of God falleth o
of the hearts of men. Hereof arise so many complaints of
perjuries, of adulteries, of thefts, of lyes, of divers and mo
impudent deceits, and of usuries most monstrous.

These mischiefs which I have rehersed we do know, reverend Sir, that they are the chief members of Antichris, his bones, flesh, and sinews, wherof he altogether consisteth: which if we with mutual force, with common and continual travail, and with the aid of the H. Ghost do seek to overthrow, the abuse of apparel and of al other things wil be utterly abandoned, and al the badges and shadows of Antichrist would vanish away. But if these principal members of Antichrist, his substance and whole body, be not cut off, and the kingdom of Christ thorowly established, by restoring the pure doctrin and diligent disciplin, by faithful and meet ministers of Christ, in vain shal we labour to put the marks and shadows of Antichrist to flight.

My desire therefore is, good Sir, that we, following Christ our Saviour, and his disciples, labour above al things that faithful and meet pastors of the Lords flock may speedily be appointed to every parish, as neer as may be; that al church robbers be deprived; and that the people being instructed in Christ, the whole participation and disciplin of Christ may be restored; even as is described, Mat. xviii. John xx. Act. ii. 4, 5, 20. Rom. xii. 1 Cor. xii. Eph. iv. 1 Tim. v. and in such like places. Neither would I have any ceremony either retained or newly ordained, unles it might be thought by the better part of the congregation to further the holy and worthy comelines and order of those that glory in the cros of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the

me edification of faith. And if any of the churches would give ear to me, surely they should retain none of these garments which the Papists have used in their superstitious service. But this would I have for these causes, that they might therby more plainly confes and declare, both that they had renounced al fellowship with the Romish Antichrist, and also surely acknowledge the liberty of external things; and that herein they are occupied to restore those things, especially wherin the disciplin of Christ doth chiefly consist, and which are commanded us by God. For these causes, I say, and also lest any occasion of strife should remain among the weaker, either for these things, or such like; and upon condition beside, that al those things which are any part of the disciplin and participation of Christ be received together, I could wish those garments wherof we speak to be utterly removed.

But to say that these garments are so defiled by the abuse of Antichrist, that no church may use them, albeit how much soever some one of them worship their Saviour Christ, and know the liberty of al things, I dare not be so bold; neither do I se any piece of scripture, wherby I may defend this condemning of the good creature of God: for the scripture in al places saith, that every creature of God is good unto the good, that is, to those which truly believe 129
in Christ, and use his creatures godly; and that it is good, not only in respect of these effects which we cal natural, as bread is good for his operation of feeding and strengthening the body, and wine for his effect of drinking and heating; but also they are good in respect of sundry significations and admonitions. For godly men stir up to themselves, and continue the memory and consideration of many of Gods benefits, by occasion of al things, as they are Gods creatures. Wherof come these things which are in the psalms and songs of the saints touching the praise and celebration of God, wherunto they allure al the works of God.

That any ceremony is wickedly Aaronical or Antichristian, standeth not in any creature of God, in any garment, in any figure, in any colour, or any work of God, but in the mind

and profession of those which abuse Gods good creatures to wicked significations. For what scripture doth teach us, the Devil or wicked men have the power, that by their abusing they can make any good creature of God, and such a one as is good, (to signify and admonish simply,) evil and wicked? Wherfore nothing can be truly said to appertain to the priesthood of Aaron, as touching that it is abolished, (for neither the holy ministry of the church, which is taught us by the precepts of the priesthood of Aaron, is yet abolished,) but for that it is used with that superstition, as though it were so necessary unto salvation, now that Christ is reveled: or that it were profitable of it self; or that therby occasion might be given to any man to take this superstition to himself, either to retain it, or to trouble the unity of the brethren: so then it cannot be called a ceremony of Antichrist, unles some profession or participation of Antichrist therby be shewed, or that serve for such profession or participation.

Now who can deny that the Lord granteth to many of his elect, to take unto themselves only significations and admonitions out of al things, (beside the natural use of them,) both of the benefits of God, and also of their own duties, but not of any evil thing? And so they should detest from the bottome of their hearts al things which are contrary unto Christ, that no occasion at al may be given unto them by any thing, howsoever other men have abused it, of any superstition or fellowship with darkness, either disturbing of brotherly love. Now if such true Christians (of whom there soon would be great plenty every where, if that, with the pure doctrin of Christ, his whole communion and disciplin did flourish in their churches) did think it would help somewhat to the setting forth of the holy ministry among simple men and children, that ministers should wear some special kind of apparel in their ministration; (yea, and that which the Papists have abused;) truly I se not Scripture teach the contrary, why I should not leave such Christians to their own judgment. And why I ought so to do, I doubt not but it is clearly taught, Rom. xiv. 1 Cor. viii. and ix. And

also in many other places we are taught concerning the liberty and the good use of creatures, not of meats only, but also of al other things.

It is certain also, that our Lord Jesus Christ prescribed unto us in his words the substance only of the holy ministry of his word and sacraments, and to have granted to the 130 churches the ordinance of al other things, which belong to the comely and profitable administration of the sacraments: wherupon we neither celebrate the holy supper at evening, neither in a private house, neither sitting, nor with men only. Some reckon among these things, which freely are left to the ordinance of the churches, to minister the communion once a year only, thrice or four times, or oftener, and to stand at it, neither to be partaker of the sacraments. But sure it is, that both of them are plaine papistical. It is certain that the Apostles, and the congregations of the Apostles, ministred the Lords supper after the institution of Christ, every sabbath day, and as often as the brethren assembled in greater mesures together, and al that were present were partakers, according to the word of the Lord, *Drink ye al of this:* wherby it is plain enough, that he would have al eat of the offered bread. Now in every holy assembly of brethren, we ought to celebrate the *memory* of the Lord; for which the Lord also ordained his supper, and so was continued by the Apostles, we are sufficiently taught, Acts iv. and 1 Cor. xi. Then these two things, to celebrate the Lords supper so seldom, and so few to receive it, I judge to be simply papistical: for they disagree with the word of God.

As for these things, touching the *place*, the *time*, the *apparel*, to minister or receive the holy communion, of admitting women to the Lords table, of the maner of prayers and hymnes unto God; so also of apparel, and other things pertaining to outward comelines, I doubt not but the Lord gave free liberty to his churches to appoint and ordain in these things that which every church shal judge most available for the people, to maintain and encrease the reverence towards al the divine service of God. If then any churches,

by this liberty of Christ, would have their ministers wear some special apparel in their holy ministry to this end of edifying the flock of Christ; setting apart al superstition, al lightnes, and al dissension among brethren, that is, al abuse. I se not who can condemn such churches, for this matter, of any sin, no, nor of any fellowship with Antichrist. What if some church, by the pure and holy consent of themselves, should have that custome, that every one should wear a white garment at the holy communion, as they sometimes did which newly were baptized? For if any wil strive that this liberty is to be granted to no church of Christ, he must needs confes one of these; either that nothing is to be permitted to the churches, to be ordained about the Lords supper, wherof I have no expres commandment of Christ; (wherby al churches shal be condemned of ungodly boldnes: for al do observe both time and place, and gesture of body, in the ministration of the holy supper, and they admit women to the communion: of al which things they not only have no commandment of the Lord, but also a contrary example; for the Lord held his supper in the evening, not in the morning; in a private house, not in a public; sitting down with his disciples, and receiving the pascal lamb, not standing, and shewing this only communion of himself: moreover the women were excluded, which yet were accounted most devout and holy among his disciples;) or els it cannot be, that there should be churches, which the Lord so far forth delivereth from al superstition and abuse of his
131 good creatures, that to the clean al the creatures of God are good, and in use of signification clean by true faith in his name; (which whoso saith, he truly therby shal deny Christ our Lord to be the same unto al men, which he promised to become, namely, a deliverer from al sin, and a purger from al uncleannes;) or that the wicked by their abuse may so pollute the creatures of God, which of themselves are good, that they can serve no godly man to a godly use: which is plainly contrary to the testimonies of the Holy Ghost, Rom. xiv. 1 Cor. viii. and ix. 1 Tim. iv. or else truly it is not lawful for Christians to entreat of every thing, both to warn

them of their Creator, and knowledg of themselves, and of his benefits towards us, and our duties towards him: which is contrary to that the Holy Ghost in al places teacheth, of the acknowledging and worshipping of God in al his works, and doing al things in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to the glory of the Father.

Al these absurdities must godly minds eschew. Neither is that evil to be feared, which was wont to be objected: If so great a liberty be granted to the Church, that they may put every thing to godly significations and admonitions, there are which wil bring into our service al the ceremonies, either of Aaron, or of the Antichrist of Rome, or of the Gentils. For the churches which I have described, and to whom I think cannot that liberty be denyed wherof I speak, whatsoever ceremonies or apparel they take to their use, they wil order to serve the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by setting it forth, not by darkning it. Even as among true Christians the next end of al the outward ceremonies, and expresly commanded by the Lord, is the commendation and decking of the ministry of the gospel, by which al superstition and abuse of al things is put to flight: so that will we, nil we, we must needs confes the differences of apparel in them that bear civil office, to give cause unto men wel affected of singular reverence towards the magistrates, what should let, why the same should not be in the ministry of religion? Every godly motion of the mind procedeth necessarily from the Holy Ghost; and it must needs be maintained by the word of God. Notwithstanding to this Spirit, and to the word of God, al creatures with the godly do serve: and so much the more, if the things by public ordinance be appointed to any godly signification and admonition. For unto the good, God hath created al his works for good and sundry use. He preserveth them, and if they use them in him, he delivereth them unto him. Let us consider what the Holy Ghost teacheth touching the signification of the vail of a woman, of the covering of a mans head, 1 Cor. xi. Also, why he made mention by name of the

shining garments of Aaron. He doth nothing rashly, but in al things he procureth the salvation of his, which consisteth by faith of the gospel. But herof I have written more at large to master A Lasco.

The Lord knoweth how I desire to further your study, but for the restoring of the whole kingdom of Christ: and as I se the abuse of that apparel as yet to remain, I would buy it dearly, that they were clean taken away. But to make it wicked of it self to use them any ways, I se no cause. Grant it to me. Whatsoever scriptures you alledg against the *traditions* of men, you know, that al that is to be
132 understood of these things wherwith men wil worship God by themselves, and overpassing the commandments of God, eat meat rather with washed hands than unwashed. Whatsoever you speak of *beggarly and weak elements*, you know it pertaineth to superstition; wherby these things were requisite, as necessary or profitable of themselves to salvation, now that Christ is reveled. Whatsoever you se of the abuse of these garments, that is not in the garments, but sticketh in unclean minds. But can these things be so repugnant to the word and Spirit of God, seing that al things are *clean to them*, even those which Antichrists most filthily have polluted?

If these things shal satisfy you, reverend Sir, I wil rejoice in the Lord. Otherwise I pray you, shew me those scriptures in few words, wherby I may se, that this my opinion touching the liberty of these things standeth not with the word of God. And I pray God, that he so moderate, or else remove this controversy, lest any way it hinder the necessary clensing of the Church; and lest they be divided either in opinion or in ministration, whom God in such sort hath coupled and joyned to set forward the salvation of the people.

I wish you and your wife, and al the company of brethren there with you, to live happily in al things, and I commend my ministry unto your prayers. In that I send back so late, and do send you your writings again, I pray you bear with

my earnest busines, which these days have let me for the kingdom of Christs sake; and also because I lack trusty messengers, to whom I might commit these to be brought unto you. The grace of the Lord encrease always in you and us al. *Amen.*

Your most bounden in the Lord,
Martin Bucer.

O O.

Crowley's epigrams concerning abuses.

I. *Abbays.*

AS I walked alone, and mused on thyngs
That have in my time bene done by great kings,
I bethought me of *abbays*, that sometyme I saw,
Which are now suppressed al by a law.
O Lord, thought I then, what occasion was here,
To provide for learning, and make poverty chere?
The lands and the jewels that hereby were hadd,
Would have found godly prechers, which might wel have ladd
The people aright, that now go astray,
And have fed the poor, that famish every day.
But as I thus thought, it came to my mynde, 133
That the people wil not se, but delyghte to be blynde.
Wherefore they are not worthy good preachers to have,
Nor yet be provyded for, but in vayn stil to crave.
Than sayd I, O Lord God, make this tyme short,
For theyr only sake, that be thy chosen sort.

E Biblioth. Rev. D. Johan. Ep. Elien.

II. *Alehouses.*

Nedes must we have places for vitayls to be sold,
For such as be syck, pore, feble, and old.
But, Lord, to how great abuse they be grown,
In eche little hamlet, vyllage and towne?
They are become places of wast and excess,
An herbour for such men, as lyve in idleness.

And lyghtly in the contry they be placed so,
That they stand in mens way, when they should to chu
go.
And then such as love not to hear theyr faults told
By the minister that readeth the N. Testament and O d,
Do turn into the alehouse, and let the church go:
And men accompted wise and honest do so.
But London, God be praised, al men may commend,
Which doth now this great enormity emende.
For in servyce tyme no dore standeth upp,
Where such men are apt to fyl can and cupp,
Wold God in the country they would do the same,
Either for Gods fear, or for worldly shame.

III. *Almes-houses.*

A merchant that long time had bene in straunge landes.
Returned to his contry which in Europe stands.
And in his return his way laye to pass
By a spittle house not far from wher his dwelling was.
He loked for this hospital, but none could he se,
For a lordly house was built, where the hospitall should
be.
Good Lord, (sayd this merchant,) is my country so wealthy,
That the very beggars houses be built so gorgeously?
Than by the way syde hym chaunced to se
A pore man that craved of hym for charitie.
Why, (quoth this merchaunt,) what meaneth this thing?
Do ye begg by the way, and have a house for a king?
Alas! Sir, (quod the pore man,) we are al turned out,
And ly and dy in corners here and thereabout.
Men of great riches have bought our dwelling place,
And whan we crave of them, they turn away their face.
Lord God, (quod this merchaunt,) in Turkey have I bene,
Yet emong these heathen none such cruelty have I sene.

134 ### IV. *Bailif arrants.*

A bailif there was in the west contrey,
That did as they do in al quarters, men seye.

He served with one wryt an whole score or tweyne,
And toke in hand to excuse them, having pence for hys payne.
And when he should warn a quest in sessions to appear,
He would surely warn them that would make hym no chere.
And than take a bribe to make answer for them;
But when he met his friends, than would he say, Hem.
But such as had no chere, nor mony to pay,
Were sure to trudg to the session alway.
Ye must give hym some thynge to sow his hadland,
Or els ye can have no fauour at his hand.
Some puddings or baken, or chese for to eat,
A bushel of barly, some malt or some wheat.
His hadland is good ground, and beareth al thynge,
Be it baken or beffe, stockfysh or lynge.
Thus pore men are pold and pild to the bare,
By such as should serve them to kepe them from care.

V. *Bawds.*

The bawds of the stews be turned al out:
But some think they inhabit al England throughout;
In taverns and typling houses many might be found,
If officers would make serch, but as they are bound.
Well, let them take heed, I wyl say no more;
But when God revengeth, he punisheth sore.

VI. *Beggars.*

I heard of two beggars that under an hedg sate,
Who did with long talk their matters debate.
They had both sore leggs most lothsome to se,
Al raw from the fote welmost to the knee.
My legg, quod the one, I thank God, is fayre,
So is myne, quod the other, in a cold ayre.
For then it loketh raw, and as red as any bloud,
I would not have it healed for any worlds good.
For were it once whole, my lyving were gone,
And for a sturdy beggar, I should be take anone.
No manne would pity me but for my sore legg,
Wherfore if it were whole, in vain I might begg.

I should be constrained to labour and sweat,
And perhaps sometime with scourges be beat.
Wel, sayd the tother, let us take hede therfore,
That we let them not heal, but kepe them styl sore.
Another thyng I hear of a beggar that was lame,
Much lyke one of these, if it were not the same:
135 Who sytting by the fyre with the cupp in hys hand,
Began to wonder whan he should turn good husband.
I shal never thryve, quod this beggar, I wene,
For I gate but xvi pence to day, and I have spent eyghteen.
Wel, let the world wagg, we must needs have drink;
Go, fyl me this quart pot ful to the brink.
The tongue must have bastyng, it wil the better wagg
To pul a Goddes peny out of a churles bagg.

VII. *Brawlers.*

A brawler that loveth to break the Kings peace,
And seke his own sorowe his fancy to please,
Is like a burr dogg that setteth upon
Eche mastife and hound that he may light on:
He getteth hym hatred of every manne,
And meteth with his master ever now and than.
To hurt other menn he taketh great payne,
He turneth no mann to profit or gayne;
Except it be the surgeon or the armorer,
The baylife, the constable, or the jayler.

VIII. *The collier of Croyden.*

It is said that in Croyden there did sometyme dwell,
A collyer that did al other collyers excel.
For his riches thys collyer might have bene a knight,
But in the order of knighthood he had no delight.
Would God al our knights did mind coling no more,
Than thys collyer did knighting, as is sayd before.
For when none but pore collyers did with coles mell,
At a reasonable price they did their coles sell.
But synce our knight collyers have had the first sale,
We have payd much money, and had few sacks to tale.

A lode that late yeres for a royal was sold,
Wyl cost now xvi shillings of sylver or gold.
God graunt these men grace their polling to refrayne,
Or els bryng them back to theyr old state agayne;
And especially the colliar that at Croyden doth sell;
For men thynk he is cosin to the collyar of hell.

IX. *Double beneficed men.*

The Kyng of that realme where justice doth reign,
Perused old statutes that in bokes remayne,
And as he turned the boke, hym chaunced to se,
That such as have benefices should resident be;
And have their abyding, whyles theyr lyfe should endure,
Among them over whom God hath geven them cure.
Then sayd he to himself, I thynk wel there is
No law in this realm worse observed than this.
Yet can there nothing my flock more decay, 136
Then when hyrelings suffer my shepe go astray.
Then called he his council, and told them his mind,
And wylled that they should some remedy find.
Who with good advyce agreed on thys thyng,
That visitours should be sent with the power of the King,
To punish al such as herein dyd offend,
Unles they were found thorow willing to amend.
These visitours found many stout priests, but chiefly one
Who had sundry benefices, but would surrender none.
Then was this stout fellow brought to the Kyng,
Who sayd unto hym, How chaunceth this thyng?
Wyl ye transgress my laws, and than disobey
Menne havyng my power? Sir, what can you say?
If it mai like your Grace (quod he) lo! here is to see
Your seal at a graunt of a pluralitie.
Wel, sayd the Kyng than, I repent me of al yll;
But tel me, Maister Doctour, wil you have your benefices stil?
If your Grace do me ryght, (quod he,) I must have them my life time.
So shalt thou, sayd the Kyng, for to morrow by prime,

God wylling, thy body shal be divided and sent,
To ech benefice a piece, to make thee resident.
Away with hym, (quod the Kyng,) and let al thyngs be done
As I have geven sentence by to morrow ere none,
For syth thou art a stout priest, an example thou shalt be,
That al stouburn priests may take warnyng by thee.

X. *Forestallers.*

The fryses of Walys to Bristow are brought,
But before they were woven, in Walys they are bought.
So that now we do pay four groats or els more,
For the fryse we have bought for eight pence heretofore.
And some say, the wool is bought ere it do grow,
And the corn long before it come in the mowe:
And one thyng there is that hurteth most of al,
Reversions of farmes are bought long ere they fal.
And ryght so are benefices in every coast:
So that persons and vicars kepe neither sodd nor rost.
The pore of the parish, whom the person should fede,
Can have nought of our tythis to succour theyr nede.
Reversions of fermes are bought on ech syde,
And the old tenant must pay wel, if he wyl abyde:
And where the father payd a peny and a capon or twayn,
The son must pay ten pounds; which passeth my brayn
Wel, let these forestallers repent them by tyme,
Lest the clark of the market be with them ere prime.
For he when he cometh wyl punysh them all,
That do any nedeful thyng ingrose or forestal.

XI. *Nice wives.*

137 I think the abominable whores of the stews
Did never more whorelike attyrements use.
The capp on hyr head is lyke a sowes maw,
Such another fashion, I thynk never Jew saw.
Then fine geare on the forehead set after the new tryck,
Tho' it cost a crown or two, what then? they may not styck.

If theyr heyr wyl not take colour, then must they buy new,
And lay it out in tussocks; this thyng is too true.
At ech syde a tussock as bygg as a ball,
A very fayr syght for a fornicator bestiall.
Hyr face fayr paynted, to make it shyne bryght,
And hyr bosome al bare in most whorelyke dight.
Hyr myddle braced in as smal as a wand,
And some buy wasts of wyre at the pastwyfes hand.
A bumbe lyke a barrel, with whoops at the skyrte;
Hyr shoes of such stuff that may touch no dyrte.
Upon hyr whyte fyngers many ryngs of gold,
With such maner stones, as are most dearly sold.
Of al theyr other trifles I wyl say nothyng,
Least I have but smal thanks for thys my wryting.
Al modest matrons, I trust, wil take my part;
As for nice whippets words, shal not com ny my hert.

XII. *Obstinate Papists.*

An obstinate Papist that was sometime a frier,
Had of hys friers cote so great a desire,
That he stale out of England, and went to Lovayne,
And gat hys friers cote on hys foles back agayne.
A wilful beggar this Papist wyl be,
A fole and a fryer; and thus is one man three.
Would God al the Papists that be left behynd,
Were with hym in fryers cotys according to theyr kynd.

XIII. *Vayn wryters, vayn talkers, vayn hearers.*

Of late as I lay, and lacked my rest,
At such tyme as Titan drew fast to the east,
Thys saying of Christ came into my mynde,
Which certayn and true al maner men shal fynde;
Of every idle word ye shal geve a reckonyng,
Be it spoken by mouth, or put in wrytinge.
O Lord, thought I then, what case be they in,
That talk and write vaynly, and think it no syn?
Then slombred I a little, and thought that I saw
Three sorts of vayn menne condempned by Gods law.

138 The one was a wryter of thyngs nought and vayn,
And another a talker, and this was theyr payn:
The wryter had the crowne of hys head opened;
Whose brayns with a styck the talker styrred.
And he with both hands drew the talkers tongue,
So that withowt hys mouth it was an handful long.
The third was an herkener of fables and lyes,
Whose ears were almost drawn up to hys eyes.

XIV. *Unsatiable purchasers.*

An unreasonable rych man dyd ryde by the way,
Who for lack of men hadd with hym a boy.
And as he past by a pasture most pleasant to se,
Of late I have purchased thys ground, Jack, quod he.
Mary, maister, quod the boy, men say over al,
That your purchase is great, but your household is smal.
Why, Jack, quod thys riche man, what have they to do?
Would they have me to purchase, and kepe great house too?
I cannot tel, quod the boy, what maketh them to brawle,
But they say, that ye purchase the Devil, his dam and all.

XV. *Usurers.*

A certain man had lands, little though it were,
And yet wold faine have lived lyke a gentlemans peer.
Of thys land he made sale, and toke ready gold;
And let that for double rent of the land that was sold.
Then came there a broker, and sayd, if he would do
As he would advise hym, he should make of one peny two.
Mary, that would I fain do, quod thys usurer than,
I pray thee teach me the feat, if thou can.
You shal, sayd thys broker, lend but for a months day;
And be sure of a sufficient gage alway,
With a playn bil of sale, if the day be not kept,
And se that ye do no causes accept.
Than must you be sure, that your interest be
One peny for a shilling, and three pence for three.
So by the yeres end twelve months geve twelve pence
For the use of a shillyng, lo! I have told you al sence.

Than sayd thys usurer, this matter goeth wel,
For my twenty pound land, that I chanced to sel,
I shal have four hundred pound rent by the yere,
To lyve lyke a lord, and make joly chere.

PP. 139

The form of the commission by the King to his Council, in his minority.

EDWARD the Sixth, &c. Wheras the late King, our most gracious lord and loving father, King Henry VIII. of most worthy memory, perceiving in himself to draw towards the end of this vain and transitory life, made his will and testament in such maner and form, as appeareth enrolled in our high Court of Chancery for matter of record; and considering at the making of the said last will and testament, that the crown imperial, and kingly regiment of so great and many realms, dominions, and subjects, descending unto us by right, title, and succession after his decease; we, for lack of knowledg and experience, which our young and few years at that time could not so soon have conceived and gotten, should not of our selves be so wel able to administer, direct, and rule the affairs of our said realms, dominions, and subjects, as both to our own honour and surety, and also to the benefit and preservation of our own good subjects should appertain; did therfore, like a most prudent Prince, and a very kind and natural loving father, choose, elect, name, and ordain to be our executors and counsillors of Privy Council about us, such personages, as of whose faithfulnes, wisdom, and diligences he had received, by a long time, good proofs and great experience; that is to say, A. B. &c. praying, willing, and commanding them in as earnest maner, and with as great charge as he could devise, to take upon them the offices of his executors and our counsillors of Privy Council: giving to them such authority and commission for the counsailing of us, and the government of our person, and the mayning and directing of our affairs, Titus, B. 2.

both private and public, as in his said last wil and testament doth appear: also charging and commanding us, as far forth as a father might charge and command his son, to be ordered and ruled by the advice and counsil of his said executors and counsillors.

And wheras also upon a special trust and confidence, which our said father had in A. B. &c. he appointed them in his said last will and testament to be of counsil, for the aiding and assisting of the forenamed counsillors and executors, when they or any of them should be called by the said executors, or the more part of the same: like as first we must and do, among many other benefits given unto us of God knowledg his gift unto us of so prudent, carefull, loving, kind, and wise a father, to be one of the greatest gifts and benefits unto us, and therafter render unto his divine Majesty our most humble, lowly, and most hearty thanks; so finding already, and knowing certainly how necessary, profitable, and honorable the making, appointing, and mayning by the said late King our father of his forenamed executors and counsillors for assistance, and also
140 th'ordre, charge, commission, and authority given to them by him; and his charge also to us to be advised and counsilled by them; hath been and is to us, our realms, dominions, and subjects.

We do, of our certain knowledg and mere motion, approve, confirm, ratify, and take in most gracious, firm, stable, and thankful part, al and every deed and deeds, act and acts, thing and things, of what nature, condition, or quality they, or any of them have been or be; which the foresaid executors and counsillors of Privy Council, or the most part of them assembled in Council, or the forenamed executors and counsillors of Privy Council, and counsillors for assistance, or the most part of them assembled in Council, have treated, concluded, commanded, ordered, appointed, directed, advised, counsilled, written, said, or done, at any time or time, or in any maner, wise, or by any maner mean, sithence the decease of the said late King our father, in, for, or concerning the government of our person, or the

order, rule, government, direction, or mayning in any manerwise, with, of, or in our affairs, private or public, inward or outward, of our realms, dominions, or subjects, or any of them.

And forasmuch as having but now lately accomplished the age of twelve years, we do nevertheles, thanks be to God, wel perceive and understand, how much unable yet for a time we are, for want of perfect knowledg and experience, to take unto our own mayning and direction, our affairs, either public or private, such are the great numbers and variety of the same, occurring daily as wel at home in our dominions, as with foreign parts. And considering also how convenient, needful, profitable, and honorable it is, for every prince, of what estate or age soever he be, to elect and have about him grave and wise counsillers, and to follow their advice and counsil in al his doings and procedings; we therfore, of our certain knowledg, mere motion, and very just consideration, and for the good proof which we have always had of A. B. &c. whom the said late King, our said father, did name and order to be his executors and counsillours to us of our Privy Council; and of the said A. B. &c. whom our said father did appoint to be counsillors for assistance; do desire and pray, and nevertheles wil and command them to execute, use, exercise, and take upon them the offices and places of counsillors of our Privy Council, and counsillors for assistance, in such maner and form as our said father by his last wil and testament hath named and appointed them and every of them, for and concerning their advice for our mariage; for and concerning the government of our person, the ordering the affairs of the realm, both outward and inward, and also our own private affairs: so to continue in the said rooms and places during our plesure, the same our plesure to be declared to them, or any such of them whom we shal upon occasion fortune hereafter to discharge from any the said rooms or places, by our letters patents signed with our own hand, and sealed with the great seal of England.

And for because the variety and number of things, affairs, and matters, are and may be such, as we, not knowing now beforehand the names, natures, qualities, or certainties of them, cannot conveniently prescribe or set forth
141 any certain instructions, rules, or orders, unto our said counsillors, for their behaviour and proceedings in the charge, which we have and do now appoint unto them during our plesure, as aforesaid; we therfore, for the special trust and confidence which we have in them, do give and grant ful power and authority to them, or to the most part of them, assembled together in Councel, and in the absence of any of them, to the most part of them which shal be present and assembled together in Council; to make, devise, and ordain, what thing or things soever they, or the more part of them, as aforesaid, shal from time to time, and at al times during the time they be our counsillors, think necessary, meet, or convenient, for the benefit, honor, surety, weal public, or commoditie of us, our realms, dominions, or subjects, or any of them: and the same thing or things so made or ordained by them, or the more part of them, as aforesaid, to do, execute, accomplish, and set forth for us, and in our name, or cause to be don, executed, accomplished, and set forth for us, and in our name, by their discretions, or the discretions of the more part of them, as aforesaid, in as large and ample maner, as if we had or did expres unto them in special words, articles, or matters, or by more special commission, the self same maner of doing or proceding, which they, or the more part of them, as aforesaid, shal think meet from time to time to use or follow, or the self same particular matter or matters, cause or causes, that may chaunce or occur, the time they be our counsillors, as aforesaid, willing and commanding, &c.

Q Q.

Certain orders set forth by the justices of Cornwal, for the accomplishment of the King's commandment, by his Highness's letters to them directed; for the speedy reformation of the unreasonable prices of victuals in markets, and for the punishment of the causers of the same.

Cornwal.

FIRST, That the said justices within their circuits and limits to them appointed, do treat with the best and most honest personages of any market-towns within their said limits; and to know of them the names of those which were wont to serve the markets, and such as now be hable to serve the same markets, of grain; which of butter and cheese; which of flesh; and whether they, or any of them, have withdrawn, or not. Titus, B. 2.

Item, After that taken and entred in a book, then to know of them what the names of those were that have sold the same at excessive prices, sithence the late commandment.

Item, That every justice in their limits do send for the said 142
sellers, and to take their answers, and the proofs of the said town-dwellers. And if it shal then appear they have offended, then to give them day under sureties to appear before them to receive their deserts.

Item, If they accuse others that make sale of the same to them at excessive prices, that then those be sent for, and put under like sureties.

Item, The grain of every the parishes to be surveyed by the said justices, and likewise the of the same; to be likewise entred in a book, who occupieth the same, and with what stuff, and what prices the same have been sold; whether they were fat or lean; and to whom.

Item, That victuallers be appointed to serve in the said market-towns, such as dwel nigh or in the said towns, and be no graziers; and they to fetch cattel for the same markets with the said graziers, by the precept of the said justices, or any of them, directed to the constable of his parish

there: and such constable is for their warrant to deliver the same to his said victualler, paying for the same at the Kings Majesties price.

Item, Likewise that grain be appointed to serve the said markets by the said surveyors at reasonable prices, by them to be appointed, after the quantity by those persons there, as it shal appear it is by their survey.

Item, Likewise of butter and cheese, that they that were accustomed to serve the markets with butter and cheese, and other victuals, do serve the same, if they have wherewith, at the Kings price.

Item, That the butcher, having beefs, muttons, and al other victuals at his graziers hands, at the Kings price, shal be compelled to sel the same to the Kings people according to that rate, by the orders of the mayors and chief officers of the market-town, at the commandment of the justices.

Item, That if any ambiguity rise betwixt the butcher and the grazier in making the price, having regard to the largeness of the beast, that the same be appealed, and adjudged by the justice of peace next adjoyning.

Item, That every victualler bring the hide of every the beasts that shal be killed weekly to the markets, and there make sale of them in open market, at such prices as the justices of peax shal appoint.

Item, That henceforth no fisher make sale of any kind of fish upon the sea, nor elsewhere, but upon the strand; and that the same remain upon the strand during one whole hour, to be sold to al comers of the country, at such prices as one of the said fishers and one of the landmen will appoint. And in case none of the country be there to buy the said fish, or any part therof, by the space of one hour, that then the said fishers shal be at liberty to sel the same to any jowtar, or other, to their most advantage, as they and the buyers may agree.

Item, When the fisher or jowtar bring any fish to the market, that then they sel the same at reasonable prices, or els at such prices as the mayors and chief officers of the same town shal appoint.

A Table making mention of certain prices made by the King's Majesty's justices, of all kinds of corn, and sundry other necessaries. 143

Cornwall.

A bushel of wheat.

At Stretton, Launceston, Saltashe.	3*s.* 4*d.*	*Memorand.* This is 12 gallons to the bushel.
Lyskerde, Lowe.	4*s.* 8*d.*	16 gallons to the bushel.
Bodmyn, Lostuthyel, Tregony, Trerewe, St. Columbe, Penryn, Padstow.	5*s.* 8*d.*	18 gallons to the bushel.
Helston, Redruythe.	6*s.*	This is a greater measure still.

A bushel of barley.

At Bodmyn, Lostuthiel, Tregonye, Trerewe, St. Columbe, Penryn, Padstow.	20*d.*	
Helston, Redruythe.	5*s.*	[It should be 15*d.*]
Launceston, Saltashe, Leskyrd, Low.	16*d.*	
Strotton,	12*d.*	

A bushel of oats.

At Bodmyn, Padstow, Lostuthiel.	20*d.*	*Memorandum.* The measure of oats is great, and not at one size, but in some places more than in some.
Leskyrd, Low, Saltash, Launceston.	18*d.*	

Wine.	£.	s.	d.
A gallon of the best Gascoin, - -	0	0	6

Linnin cloth.

A yard of dowlas, - - - - - -	0	0	9
——— lockeram, - - - - -	0	0	7

Hides untanned.

The hide of every cow, - - -	4*s.* 3*d.* or 3	4	
——— ox, - - - - -	6	8	
——— stere, - - -	4*s.* 4*d.* or 3	4	
——— heiffer, - -	3*s.* 4*d.* or 2	8	

Shop leather well tanned.

A dyck of leather, *viz.* two hides at the least,	3	0	0
A foot of clowte leather, - - - - -	0	3	0

Shoes.

A pair of mans shoes, - - - - -	10 or 11*d.*
A pair of womans shoes, - - - - -	6 or 7*d.*
A pair of boots, the best, - - - -	3*s.* 4*d.*

And if any person be disobedient to any of the orders before mentioned, that the same be brought to the next justice of the peace, by him to be committed to ward, or else to be bound, at the discretion of the said justice, to appear before the justices of oyer and terminer; there to receive worthy punishment for their offences.

Then follows a table, making mention of the prices of sundry kinds of victuals, taxed and appointed by the King's Majesty's proclamation: which is exemplified in the foregoing history.

For the overselling. The forfeiture for every of the greater beasts, as of oxen, and such like, 5*l.* apiece; and of the sheep 10*s.* apiece.

BOOK II. 144

A.

Scory, bishop of Rochester, unto the King's most excellent Majesty: putting him in mind of certain suits made to him in his sermon before him last Lent.

I GIVE most humble thanks to God and to your Majesty, that it hath pleased you to judge me faithful in putting me in the ministry. And although your Majesty hath a number of faithful subjects, that could accomplish this office better than I, yet I wil through Gods grace, and according to my hability, wholly endeavour my self to serve God and your Majesty in my ministry, both faithfully and diligently. MSS. Guil. Petyt, Armig.

And now I most humbly beseech your Majesty, to remember and consider, among other, two of the essential suits that I made the last Lent in my sermons unto your Majesty. The first was for the restitution of the ecclesiastical discipline, wherby virtue may have again her old and just estimation, and vice put to shame and confusion. The second was to banish greedy avarice: the which hath, by inclosures and converting tillage into sheep-pastures, contrary to the wholsome laws of this your noble realm, decayed your villages, townes, and cities, brought in an intolerable scarcity and dearth of al things that your faithful subjects should live by, diminished the number of your people in the country, and therby feebled and weakened

your mighty power and strength, that your noble progenitors had, and your Majesty should and might have against the enemy: and finally, if speedy remedy be not provided by your noble Majesty and prudent counsillors, it will bring your honorable state, and this your realm, in time past most worthy, unto utter ruine and desolation: the which God, for the mercies of his Son Jesus Christ, save your Majesty and your noble realm from. Oh! what a lamentable thing is it to consider, that there are not at this day ten plows, wheras were wont to be forty or fifty. Wheras your Majesties progenitors had an hundred men to serve them with reverend obedience in the time of peace and in the time of wars, with their strength, policy, goods, and bodies, your Majesty have now scant half so many. And yet a great number of them are so pined and famished by the reason of the great scarcity and dearth of al kind of victuals, that the great sheep-masters have brought into this noble realm, that they are become more like the slavery and paisantry of France, than the antient and godly yeomandry of England. Oh! what a lamentable thing is it to behold
145 that ground, which at this time of the year, through mens diligent labour and Gods blessing, was wont to be richly adorned with corn, to be now, through Gods curse, that is fallen upon us for our idlenes and greedy avarice, replenished with mayweed, thistles, docks, and such like unprofitable weeds. The ground, without controversy, would be as fruitful as it hath been in times past, if it were, according to Gods ordinance, and the wholsome laws of this realm, laboriously drest and tilled, as it was wont to be. But to trust to have as much upon one acre as was wont to grow upon three, (for I think that the tillage is not now above that rate, if it be so much,) is but a vain expectation, and a wicked tempting of God; seeing that now, God sending us seasonable seasons, we are compelled, as the experience of this year have declared, to seek relief of our scarcity and dearth of corn at the hands of strangers: which was wont, having such seasonable times, to relieve them with al kinds of grains: what should we be compelled to do, if God should

send us but one year unseasonable weathers? If we have scarcity and dearth by the reason the ground is untilled and unsown, when God sendeth us rain and seasonable times, in what misery and calamity shal we be, when he shal send us the contrary?

Wherfore, most noble King, and my most dread soveraign Lord, consider and ponder wel this matter. And so I beseech God, for Jesus Christ, to preserve your royal Majesty, with your honorable Council and your whole realm.

Your Majesties most humble subject,
John Scorey, bp. of Roch.

B.

Polydore Vergil to Secretary Cecyl, for his warrant to receive the King's gift.

OPTIME Cecilli, S. Initium jungendæ amicitiæ tecum occasio hæc facit. Heri enim adivi ad illustrem Northumbriæ Ducem, mei negotii causa, qui statim petiit, an accepissem schedulam a concilio regio subscriptam de dono Majestatis regiæ dato. Respondi intellexisse me a Dno. privati sigilli Custode eam esse signatam. Tum ille inquit, *Mane domi, ipse namque ad te illam mox mittendam curabo, si non potueris commodo tuo ante habere.* At ego ne immodestus viderer, hodie bene mane me ad regiam contuli; quia etsi heri te convenire studui, uspiam tamen non potui; sed accidit, ut tu paulo ante de cubiculo tuo exiveris. Quare nunc mitto ad te famulum meum Polydorum Rosse cum his literis meis; cui rogo, velis eam ipsam schedulam ad me dare, quo possim tempore suo rem meam peragere. Siquid vero tibi tuisque ministris inde debeatur, illud libenter persolvam. Vale, et me ama. Ex ædibus nostris x Novemb. 1551. MSS. Cecil.

Tuus Polydorus Vergilius,
Manu mea.

146

C.

Thomas Gresham to the Duke of Northumberland, from Antwerp; concerning the King's debts.

To the Duke of Northumberland's Grace.

Cott. Libr. Galba, B. 12.

IT may please your Grace to be advertised, that as the 20 of this present I came unto this town of Antwerp in safty: wheras I found neither Jasper Schetz, nor the Fuggers factor, being at Brussels, and looked for to morrow at the farthest, being the 21st day: with whom I shal treat according to such commission as the Kings Majesty hath given me: wishing at this time, that it may please God to send me such good succes, as that the Kings Majesties honor and credit may be nothing touched. For that it shal be no smal grief unto me, that in my time, being his Majesties agent, any merchant-strangers should be forced to forbear their mony against their wills: which matter from henceforth must be otherwise foreseen, or els in the end the dishonesty of this matter shal hereafter be wholly laid upon my neck, if any thing should chance of your Grace, or my L. of Pembroke, otherwise than wel; for that we be al mortal: which matter I do not doubt, if God send you life, you will foresee in time. Wherin I wil advertise you my poor and simple advice at large.

But ere that I do procede any further in this matter, I shal most humbly desire your Grace to pardon me of my writing; for that this matter toucheth the Kings Majesties honour and credit; which I am bound by my oath to maintain and keep: as also the very love and obedience I do owe unto you, putteth me clean out of fear to write unto you this my ful mind at large. For it may please your Grace to understand, that at my coming home I brought with me two bargains, for to discharge the Kings Majesties debt, due the 20th of August, amounting to the sum of 56,000*l.* as also of an overplus to remain in the Kings hands for the service of a year: and that was, I offered 52,000*l.* in ready mony after the rate of 12*l.* upon the hundred for a whole year. And therewith the Kings Majesty

should have taken Manuel Ryssis jewel; which I offered once to you for 8000*l.* with another diamont of the value of 1000*l.* which jewel I shewed to the Council at Alltham, being there my Lord of Wiltshire, my Lord Darcy, my Lord Warden, Sir John Gates, and the there reckoning the jewels to be worth nothing, were they never so perfect or orient. Secondly, I offered them a bargain from the Fugger for the prolongation of 25,000*l.* and to have taken 5000*l.* in fustians: which also did not like them; saying that there was no other remedy, but that the Fugger and the Schetz must forbear with the Kings Majesty at this time; and that they would have them prolonged for another year, without taking any merchandize or jewels. Which matter did not a little abash me, considering how things heretofore hath been used. For as your Grace doth 147
right wel know, when the Kings Majesties father did first begin here to take up mony upon interest, Master Stephen Vaghan being his agent, he took his fee-peny in merchandize, either in jewels, copper, gunpowder, or fustians. And so the matter hath past ever since in taking of wares, when the Kings Majesty hath made any prolongation, until the charge therof was committed unto me. Wherin I travailed to the utmost of my power, and, by the means of my friends, I found the means to serve the King with 20,000*l.* without taking any jewels or merchandize, as your Grace best knoweth. And to be plain with your Grace in this matter, I was fain to give forth mine own [word] that this mony should be paid at the just day, or else the Kings Majesty could never have had it.

Since the which time it is not unknown to your Grace, that the world is wonderfully altered here by reason of these wars. For that the Emperor hath taken up the most part upon this bourse of Antwerp; which hath made a mervailous scarcity of mony. Wherin consideration ought to be had; as also the formal bargains heretofore made in taking the *fourth peny* inways: which thing I wil insure your Grace I have utterly abhorred it. For that lay in my power, having none other shift at this present, nor could

find none other ways at this present to serve the Kings Majesties turn: which offers did nothing like the Kings Majesties Council, saying, that there was none other [illegible] but that the King must prolong the debt of the Fuggers and the Schetz for another year, or for six months at the [illegible] Wherewith I declared before them of the Council, that the matter touched the Kings Majesties honor and credit: and that hereafter if the Kings Majesty should have need of mony, he should not find it, if they would thus fish the merchants against their wills; knowing that my friends the Schetz had need of their mony: wherin your Grace must have a consideration and earnest respect thereunto. For truly my poor experience is, better it were for the Kings Majesty to leese as much mony as he oweth, than his credit should be touched in this matter: praying to the living God, that I may never se that day. And to be plain with your Grace in this matter, according to my bounden duty, verily if there be not some other ways taken for the payment of his Majesties debts, but to force men from time to time to prolong it, I say to you, the end therof shal neither be honorable nor profitable to his Highnes.

In consideration wherof, if there be none other ways taken forthwith, this is most humbly to beseech your Grace, that I may be discharged of this office of agentship. For otherwise I se in the end, I shal receive shame and discredit therby, to my utter undoing for ever: which is the smallest matter of al, so that the Kings Majesties credit be not spotted therby, and especially in a strange country: wheras at this present his credit is better than the Emperors: which I pray to the living God long to continue. For now the Emperor giveth 16 per cent. and yet no mony to be gotten, &c.

Also, this is to give your Grace to understand, that the Kings Grace hath given me another commission, to common for the prolongation of the sum of 43,000*l.* and his
148 Majesty is content to take 6000*l.* in fustians, at such prizes as he hath heretofore taken them, upon condition that his Majesty may transport and sel these fustians, wheras he

shal think good. For that heretofore in al his bargains made with the Fugger, his Majesty was bound to sel them in England.

Further, I must treat with Jasper Schetz, that so far forth as he is content to prolong the 10,000*l.* due to the 20th of November for six month, that then the Kings Majesty would pay the 12,000*l.* due to the 20th of this present month, betwixt this and the 20th of November, allowing them interest for the same time. So that they shal not so soon come to this town, but I shal be in hand with the Fugger and the Schetz; and shal bring their answer my self to the Kings Majesty and you with al the expedition I can make: praying to the living God, I may bring this prolongation according to the expectation of the Kings Majesty, and his most honorable Council. And then I do not doubt, if that my poor simple advice may be heard and take place, I do not mistrust, but in two years to bring the Kings Majesty wholly out of debt: which I pray God send me life to se that day.

And for the accomplishment of the same, my request shal be to his Majesty and you, to appoint me out weekly 12 or 1300*l.* to be secretly received at one mans hands; so that it may be kept secret, and that I may therunto trust, and that I may make my reconing therof assuredly. I shal so use this matter here in this town of Antwerp, that every day I wil be seen to take up 2 or 300*l.* sterling by exchange. And this doing, it shal not be perceived, nor it shal not be no occasion to make the exchange fal. For that it shal be taken up in my name. And by these means, in working by deliberation and time, the merchants turn also shal be served. As also this should bring al merchants out of such suspicion, whom doubteth nothing to pay of the Kings debts; and wil not stick to say, that ere the payments of the Kings debts, it wil bring down the exchange to 13*s.* 4*d.* which I trust never to se that day.

So that by this you may perceive, if I do take up every day but 200*l.* *per diem*, [it wil] amount in one year to

72,000*l.* and the K. Majesty oweth here, at this present, 108,000*l.* with the interest mony that was prolonged over this time. So that by these means, in two years time wol be compassed according to my purpose set forth; as also by this means you shal neither trouble merchant adventurer, nor stapler, nor merchant stranger, &c.

Also, there is another matter, which I would were al in the Kings hands, and that is *lead:* which now is worth here 8*l.* Flemish. So that if it standeth with the Kings Majesties pleasure, for the which to make a proclamation, or els to shut up his custome house, that no man to convey out any parcel of lead five years day, upon forfeiture of life and goods, it shal not only cause the merchants to sel their lead there again good cheap, but it shal make it fal at the peckes; wheras there be fodders molten above three or four thousand, as I found; and now selleth for 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* the C. at Hul; which is a goodly matter. Wherfore the King shal make a staple therof; and he shal cause it to rise, and to feed them here as they shal have need therof from time to time. Which thing must be don out of hand, so that there may be none sent hither by the merchants that
149 be [illegible] of merkets: which wil be an occasion to make it fal here. And this doing the Kings Majesty shal be a great profiter therby, as to you may appear.

And by these means your Grace shal receive much honor, and al those that be now of the Council, in keeping his mony within his realms, as also in bringing him out of debt, that his late father and the late Duke of Somerset brought him in; which al the world doth right wel know therof. And also your Grace shal do his Majesty such service as no Duke in England, to the renown of your house for ever. For verily I say to your Grace, if this mony shal be prolonged upon interest, it wil be a marvelous great hindrance to his Majesty. Therfore it behoveth your Grace most earnestly to prevent this matter in time, if it be possible.

Now and it please your Grace, if this matter of *lead* doth like you, this is most humbly to require, if there be any restraint made according to my writing, that it may please the

Kings Majesty to grant me pasport to transport three hundred fodders of lead, which I have bought of Mr. Beaumont and others, as your Grace right wel knoweth. Wherof as yet I have received but forty fodders of Mr. Beaumont. Wherin I shal desire you to move him in my behalf, that I may have my lead delivered me out of hand. For that it may please your Grace I have sold the aforesaid lead to my friend the Schetz, to convey it him at the cost, and charge, and adventure at Hamburgh, at 14*s.* the ways; and twelve waye maketh a fodder.

Certifying your Grace, that this day I have had perfect news from Hamburgh, that I have a ship lost with an hundred fodder of lead, which cost me 1000*l.* wherof I have assured 600*l.* so I do leese clear 400*l.* Most instantly requiring your Grace of your abundant goodnes, to help me forthwith to the 1052*l.* which the Kings Majesty hath ought me this eight months, as your Grace best knoweth. For verily I am in great need therof. And partly at this time my honesty and credit lyes theron. So God help me, as at my coming home I shal declare to your Grace this my necessity more at large.

Then follow news out of Germany and France.

——————Not mistrusting, ere the year goeth about, to save the Kings Majesty 20,000*l.* in the payment of his debts, if I may be credited. Wherin I shal not let to forsake my own trade of living, for the better serving of his Majesty, as knoweth who preserve your Grace in health with encrease of honor. From Antwerp, the 21. Aug. 1552.

At your Graces commandment during life,

Thomas Gresham, mercer.

It may please your Grace to do my most humble commendations to my good Lord Pembroke.

150 D.

Dr. Cox to Bullinger; concerning the review of the book of Prayers and Sacraments.

Charissimo in Christo fratri D. Henrico Bullingero, ecclesiæ Tigurinæ antistiti, Ric. Cox.

Ex archiv. eccles. Tigurin.

ETSI nihil est alicujus momenti, charissime in Christo frater, quod ad te jam scribam, tamen Joannem hunc nostrum sine literis meis omnino dimittere nolui: id quod ipse quoque ægerrime tulisset. Quod ad sinceræ religionis negotium attinet, benedictus Dominus Deus, cujus jubar mirifice nobis indies affulget. Jam iterum publicarum precum ritum, atque etiam sacramentorum ipsorum immutavimus; et ad normam verbi Dei expolivimus. Sed acerbas istas Christianæ disciplinæ institutiones, cane pejus et angue, odimus. Volumus esse filii, quin et hæredes etiam, sed virgam exhorrescimus. Excita nos, id est, optimates nostros, per spiritum qui datus est tibi, ad disciplinæ studium, qua sine (dolens dico) *auferetur a nobis regnum Dei, et dabitur genti facienti fructum ejus.*

Sed unum est, mi Bullingere, quod penitus edoceri percupio. Lego in libro tuo De Cœna Domini, in quinta decade, hæc verba, "Quoniam non est publicus vel generalis cœtus, "quando quatuor vel quinque cum ægro communicant, nihil "dicunt qui aiunt apud ægros cœnam instrui posse, si alii "quoque simul cœnent." Quod si, coacto publico cœtu, tres, quatuor aut quinque tantum ex multis centenariis (aliis omnibus recusantibus) percipere velint sacramentum eucharistiæ, annon, aliis præsentibus, aut e templo discedentibus, id facere liceat? Cur ergo ægrotus hoc beneficio fraudabitur? De hac re plenius instrui exopto, cum per otium tibi vacaverit. D. Jesus te nobis diutissime conservet incolumem ad Christi gloriam et Ecclesiæ suæ ædificationem. Windesoræ Anglorum, V°. Octobris, 1552.

Tuus in Christo frater,
Ric. Cox.

E. 151

Thomas Barnabe, a merchant, to Sir William Cecyl, secretary of state. Upon his great and large experience, he propounds to him certain ways to distress the French.

To the right honorable and his special good master Sir William Cecyl, secretary to the Kings Majesty.

AFTER my most humbliest commendacions unto your mastership, yt shal please you to be advertysed, that I have been of late with the commyssioners of Fraunce, that be here com, the which is Monsr. Aubery, lieutenant civil of Parys, and Monsr. du Val, advocate for the King, of Newhaven, Homfleut, and Harfleut; the which be right honest gentlemen, and speke wel, and say, that they are not alonely sent to common with us, as the people maketh report of them, but to make restitution. And one of them also said unto me, that our people be very desirous here to have war with them, and that we should not fynd the realm of Fraunce after the sort that we did for sixscore yeres agone, when we did conquere yt. For he said, that then the Duke of Normandy, and the Duke of Brytayne, and the Duke of Burgoigne, were al three agaynst the French King, and now yt is knytt al to one realme: and that we may se what great hurt we have don them with the warrs, that my Lord of Northfolk and my Lord of Suffolk, and the Kings Majesty have don, and what towne we can show, that we do hold: but only have spent out al our riches, and destroyed a great nombre of subjects, and left al our mony in Flanders, Heynou, and Artous, to the utter destruction of our realm. The which I answered hym agayn to my simple witt, that I have had as moch experience in France, or in those parties, as moch as any man in the realm of England, and was marryed there for xxxviii yeres agone: and since I have had save conduits of the Kings Majesty; wherupon hath growen great suits, and to my utter undoing. So that I dare be bold to say, that there is never a port, haven, or bay, betwene Bouloigne and Bourdeaulx, but I know hym. And as for the MSS. Cecill.

realm of France besyde, I ought to know yt; for I have ben xxviii viages in France in post for the Kings Majesty, and contynuallie there al the while that my Lord of Winchester and Master Wallop were there; and likewyse by my Lord of London and my Lord Pachetts days. And somewhat I gathered there amongst them: for I think there were few men that was sent so many tymes to the Council privily for by-matters as I was: for the embassadours went never to the Corte but for the Kings privy affaires, but always yt was my chance to be sent for every mans matters. Wherfore there was nother the chancellor, nor the cardynal of Lorrayne, nor the cardinal of Parys, nor the admyral, nor the cunstable, which hath continewed longest in favor. but I have knowen them al.

152 And as for the constable, somewhat I can say of hym. I think he be one of the doblest and dissemblingst gentlemen that is in the world: for there is no more assurance of his word, than to hold an ele by the tayle; but wil speke fair, and promise fair, and work the contrary. And besyde al this, I promyse you of my fayth, he is as popish as I am English, and always hath been: for the which my Lord of Winchester nor Mr. Wallop did not hate hym. For I do know yt. For I was sent divers viages by my Lord Crumwel, and perceived how the matter went: for the which they sayd both of them, that I was my Lord Crumwel's spy; and so I am assured that they told the cunstable one day. But I cared not, for I had the King my masters procedings hanging in myne eyes. And as Paul sayeth, *I am that I am.*

God knoweth my poor hart, how moch I do tender the wealth and prosperitie of myne own nation, and that I am sory, from the bottom of my hart, to think that they of France accept us to be gross-natured people and covetous. And they have sayed unto me or now, that yf wee had never so rank or malicious war with them; they know how to buy us for mony: the which methinketh were a strange thing. Howbeyt that was seen by my Lord Cardynals days; for he hymself toke iiii hundreth thousand crownes to make peace

betwene the Frenchmen and us: the which then was not a lyttel spoken of in France.

I would wishe to God, that we did know our own strength and power, and what ports, bayes, and havens we have, that other realms have not. It is not unknown but in al France be barred havens, and yet by reason that they maintain their fishing and their theving, there is more maryners in one towne there, then is here from the lands end to S. Michels mount. I have sene come out at one tyde in Diep five hundred and five botes, and in every bote ten or twelve men: the which was a marvelous matter to se how they be maintayned by fyshing, and what riches they get by the sea, and how they mayntain their towns and ports. And as for us, let us begin at Sandwich and go to Dover, Hyde, and Hastings, and to Winchelsea, and se how they go down for lack of maintenance, and in a maner no mariners in them: which is for lack of good policy to set them a work. Which, Sir, yf yt please the Counceel to understand those things that I wil show you, they shal set 6 or 7000 maryners a work more than there is, in that thing, that France can lyve no more without, than the fysh without water; that is to say, Newcastle coals: which without that they can neither make stele-work, or metal-work, nor wyer-work, nor goldsmith-work, nor gunns, nor no maner of thing that passeth the fier. And as for them, ye shal se in peace tyme iii or iiii score ships of Normans and Brytons at ones, as soon as theyr fishing is don; and as they be departed cometh as many moe. So that I occupying save-conduit in France, have bought coles at Newcastle for two shillings and two pence a chauldron, and for thirteen nobles have sold them again in France. Also the vice-admiral of Normandy, Monsr. Du May, and the Vicounte of Diep, have prayed me to bring in Newcastle coles, and I should have any other maner of commodyte that they had within the realm, whether yt were *poldavis* for *saylis*, or any other thing.

Now may you se what a commodyte is this smal thing to 153
this realm. So that me semeth, yf the Kings Majesty would take in these coles into his own hands, and let no other ships

but English ships, fetch them at Newcastel, and so to [illegible] them into Kent, and make a staple in such place as [illegible] be thought necessary, you should not onely set a wond[illegible] sort of maryners a work, but also yt shal be a great st[illegible] to the realm, and specially to the cuntry of Kent; the wh[illegible] is very lene of men by the sea syde, consydering the p[illegible] mysses aforesayd of the going down of the towns. Also it is not unknowen but that the French King hath taken th[illegible] salt into his own hands, and hath gruntiers in every town [illegible] sel yt to his profyt. Now may you way, that the one ys vittayll, and the other is fuel. Also, it is but reason we should avance our own commodyte as wel as they do theyrs, to maintain our own subjects withal. Also I would wysh, that there should nother fuel nor vittayl go out of the realm, but upon English bottomes.

Moreover, I have sene go out at one tyde out of Rye, together, 37 hoyes laden with wood and tymber, and never an English maryner amongst them; which is a wonderful discommodyte to this realm. I have great mervail that these things have bene so long forgotten; which is so necessary a thing to be spoken of.

And now, Sir, I pray you, speke we of the city of London. There be so many notable merchants and rich halls of lands. Some may spend viii hondred pound, some vi hondred, some less and some more; and a great revenue come to them yerely for quartrages and forfeits, which riseth to no smal som; and nothing don withal, but make great feasts every month or six weeks at their halls, and cause vittayls to be dere. But yt might be torned to a more honorable use. Also, yt would be a great mayntaining to the Kings subjects, for every craft to have a ship to cary their merchandizes to and fro, to the great avancement of the Kings honor, and to their own commodytes. And yf chance should fal, which God forbyd, that a ship should be lost, the halls might easily bear the smarts therof. I think there is never a city in Christendom, having the occupying that this city hath, that is so slenderly provided of ships, havyng the sea comyng to yt, as this hath.

I have hard of late moch complaining for English ships to lade goods into Spayn and other places, and there is none to be hadd. Yf this thing hadd ben thought on in tyme, happily this worly borly of our ships shold not have chanced: for the French men do alledge, that that was the Spanyards goods, and other of the Emperors subjects. Wherfore I pray God, that this matter may be loked upon in tyme to come.

Now I come to your mastership with another matter. Yf so be yt, that we should war with them, (as God defend, for there is no man of God but he wil seek peace,) I know a town in Normandy [a], which yf yt were ours, we should kepe France and Normandy subject. Is yt possible to be beleved? Yea, as sure as the living God lyveth. I have known within this xxxviii yere, there was but three houses; two houses to lay cables and ancres in, and the other a vittailing house: and at this present day I think there be three thousand. It is now a second Roan; and it is the very gulph, gullet, and 154
mouth of the sea, and a make-peace, yf we had yt. Yt is al the French Kings joy, and he calleth the maryners of that town *his* maryners, *his* pylots, and *his* theves. They be maintayned, and take of us, of the Portungales, and of the Spanyards. Al is fysh that cometh to net; they wil have a pece of every man. Now, Sir, wheras the chefe of the French Kings revenue is levelled upon salt, as aforesaid, yet can yt not be brought into France nor Normandy, but it must come in danger of that town: for the canel lieth of that syde of the land betwene Polhed and that haven. Nother no merchandizes out of what realm soever yt cometh, but yt must go by that way. And also there can nothing come out of France, nother wyne of Ansurois, nor wyne of Bayon, nor wyne of Orleans, nor wyne of Parys, nor any other merchandizes, that is made in Parys or Roan, to go to any other realm, being caryed by water, but yt must nedes pas that way. Nother no army, that the French King can send to Scotland, nor to vittayl his army to the sea, but it is al set forth there. I cannot tel what I should write more of yt, for it is so commodious. There was one of the

Newhaven.

wittiest hedds in al Christendom of a merchant, which showed me ones standing there together, that we neded non other rod to scourge Normandy and France, but only that, yf we had yt. And I showed the same to my Lord Crumwel, and he sent me thither upon the Kings cost; and I drew a plack of yt, and brought yt to hym. The French King was there the same time, and the Admiral Brian, and the constable that is now, were there nine days to view yt, and to cast its ditches. And over that they made a cry, that whatsoeve [whosoever] would come and build there at Newhaven, should have his foundation, and cost hym nothing. And so after my coming home, my Lord Crumwel conferred the matter with me and my Lord Fitz Williams, that was then lord admiral, better than three or four hours, perviewing the placket; and said yf he lived, and that warrs should happen, that should surely be remembred; for yt was worthy the hering. And so he put me to the King: and so [I] travailed in his Graces affairs xxviii viages, both in France, Spayne, and Italy, and found hym always good lord unto me, or els I had ben a very poor man.

For I had two ships taken by the French men for xxvi yeres agon; and have had continual sute with them, and never could bryng yt to an end, but was fain to leve yt, and follow the Kings affayrs; and had things many tymes to say to my Lord of Winchester, concerning the Kings procedings, the which he might not wel away withal, nor Jarmyn Gardener, his secretary. And so whan any my Lord Crumwel died, I fered my Lord of Winchester, and so ceased, and fel to my sute agayn in France: for I had many a hevy look for hym of Mr. Wallop, and he sayd, that my great god was gon, and that there was none longing to hym but spies and hereticks. But as for me, I did those things that I was commanded to do by those days.

And now, forasmouch as I do se the gloriousnes of the Frenchmen, and how they do rejoyce of their roberies, I can do no less but certify your mastership that as I know. For yf we wil know our own strength, their courage shal be bated wel ynough: for kepe them from fishing, and geve no

save conduits, and kepe them from Newcastel coles, and 155
they are not able to lyve. Or yf the western men have leve to go to sea, and take what they can, and maintayn a lyttel prety ile, called Oldernay, wheras I have ben or now, and stand in the top of the castel in a clere day, and sene a man ryde a horseback in France. And nother the Brytons, nor the Gascons, can convey any thing into France or in Flanders, but they must come betwixt the shore and them. It is another manner of thing then it is taken. For I would wysh from the bottom of my hart that yt might be loked upon: yt would make the very Brytons, and the Normans, and the Gascons to stope.

I have or now advertysed al this to my Lord of Somerset, both by wryting and by mowth. And his Grace hath written me a letter to come to hym, and conferr certayn matters with hym; and would have sent me into Gascoin whan the insurrection was there. The which yf I had gon, and the cunstable had catched me, I had payed for my comyng. And whan I declared his Grace my mynd, I contentyd hym.

I do rejoyce from the bottom of my hart to think, how toward a master we have: and again, I rejoyce to se how Gods word is trewly and syncerely set forth. There lacketh nothing but to fere God, and to be in obedience of our Prynce. I do rejoyce again, to se what godly provision here is for the poor; the which would rejoyce any English heart to se. And also [wish] that these matters aforesayd may be loked upon, and that the ships and the maryners may be maintayned. For the vice ameral of France, Monsr. de Muy, hath sayd unto me or now, that we had no ships in the realm of Englond, that were any thing worth, but the Kings: and that yf they had such ports and havens as we have, and such commodytes longing to them, they would make themselves berds of gold.

I put no doubts but my Lord of Northumberlands Grace hath knowledg of these things, by reason that his Grace lay long in Roan of a long tyme. I am so bold to wryte half a dozen words to his Grace; the which I would humbly desire you to deliver yt hym, and to read hym my book. And

this meost humbly I take my leave of you for this tym. Written at London, the first day of October, by yours ever, his poor sarvice duryng his lyfe,

Thomas Barnabe.

F.

Beaumont, master of the rolls, his acknowledgment of his debt to the King.

Paper Office. FOR satisfaction of the Kynges Majesties dett charged upon me in his Graces Court of Wards and Lyveries, for redy mony and specialties, amountyng to the some of twenty 156 thousand eight hundred seventy one pounds eighteen shillings and eight pence, I am pleased and contented, and by this present bil do acknowledg my self to be fully contented and agreed, that the Kings Majestie shal have al my manors, lands, and tenements, whatsoever they be, assured to him and his heirs; and also al my goods and cattals, moveable and unmoveable, whatsoever they be, and in whose custodie soever they remayne; as shal be devysed by the Kyngs lerned Counsel, with the issues and profits of the same. Provided alwayes, that yf in case there be any just cause of allowance of any part of the aforesaid dett, that then I shal be therof allowed. In wytnes wherof I have subscrybed this byl with my hand, and therunto set to my seal the xxviii day of May, *anno* vi *Regis Ed. VI.*

John Beamount.

Beaumont's submission and surrender of his place to the King.

xxviii Maii, anno 1552.

Ubi supra. I, John Beamount, do most humbly surrendre and gyff into the hands of our soveraigne Lord the Kynges Majestie, my office of master of the rolls: most humbly besechyng hys Highnes to be mercyful unto me, and al my mysdemeynours and contempts; and in especyall, for the dett which I do owe unto his Grace, to have some dayes upon good securi-

tyes; and I am agreed to delyver my patent to be cancellyd, unto the Lord Chancellor of Englond, or to any other who shal pleyse his Highnes to appoynt to receve the same.

John Beamount.

G.

The Duke of Northumberland, Earls of Huntingdon and Pembroke, and Secretary Cecill, to the Privy Council; concerning lands of Paget and Beaumount forfeited.

AFTER our harty commendations unto your good Lordships. We have receyved your loving letters this xix of June, written at Grenewich the xviii therof: conteyning thadvertisments of divers your procedings, and such other news as you have had by both thembassadors of themperor and the French King. For the participation wherof we most hartily thank you, having by the same (as it were) refreshing in our journeys this extreame hot wether. Your 157 procedings with the Lord Paget and Mr. Beamount, signified by your letters, someth to us for our part very good and substantial. And upon the consideration of the lands and goods surrendred to the King by Beamounts submission, we the rest, apart from the Erle of Huntington, most hartily require your Lordships to have in remembrance a reasonable sute made by the said Erle, to have the custody of Gracedew, the parsonage of Dorrington, the manor of Throughston and Swannington, parcel of the said Beamounts possessions, with al his goods and cattals in and upon the said house and lands, to the Kings Majesties use, until his pleasure shal be further therin determyned. Which sute we pray your Lordships, as opportunity serveth, may be forthered, though he be absent himself. Like as it comforteth us to receive some intelligencies of news from your Lordships, so having some more sent unto us in papers than we cold understand for lack of interpretation, we retourne the same to your Lordships, being certain *doche* letters sent to me, Secretary Cecill, out of Almayn: where, after interpretation

Ubi supra.

therof, you may use them as shal please you, eyther privately for your selves there, or in participation to us of the same, when they shal have lerned to speke English. And thus we most hartily wish contynual succes of prosperity there, that whersoever we go or ride, nothing shal seme paynful to us, laying the foundation of our compfort upon your wel doings about his Majesty there, whom God long preserve. From Master Cecills house at Bourleigh, besides Stamford, the xix of June, 1552.

Your assured loving frends.

We have thought mete to pray your good Lordships to have in remembrance, that when any order shal be taken for the delivery of any lands of the Lord Paget in satisfaction of part of his fine, our very good lords, the Erle of Huntington and the Lord Chamberlayn, may not be forgotten. The one to have the custody of the house at Drayton, and the other the house at London; wherof your good Lordships wel know their lack.

We pray your Lordships to be good lords to the berer hereof, Mr. Yong, in his reasonable sute.

Northumberland, F. Huntingdon,
Pembroke, W. Cecyll.

---

158 H.

The University of Rostock to King Edward; recommending to him one Peristerus, a godly and learned man of that University.

PaperOffice. GRATIAS agimus Deo æterno, patri D'ni nostri Ihesu Christi, quod in R. M. V. terris tranquillum hospitium præbet Eccl'æ suæ et honestis studiis, quæ sunt præcipuum generis h'ni [humani] decus. Cum n. in o'ib. aliis regnis, aut prorsus publicum Eccl'æ ministerium et l'rarum studia deleta sint, aut pontificum sævitia et bellorum tumultibus, et opinionum dissidiis vastentur, ingens Dei be'fitium e'e agnoscimus, quod in R. M. V. regno quietam sedem sanc-

tissime constitutis ecclesiis et scholis tribuit. Quæ etiam R. M. V. sapientia, pietate, munificentia et authoritate ita foventur, ut et his ornamentis Angliæ regni longe antecellat o'ib. regnis totius orbis terrarum, et R. M. V. merito titulum habeat nutritii eccl'æ Dei, quo nullum in terris preconium majus aut augustius dici potest. Nos quidem tantorum decorum admiratione et amore incensi, gratulamur inclyto Angliæ regno de hac fœlicitate, et Deum oramus, ut eam perpetuo conservet. Speramus etiam R. M. V. pro summa pietate et benevolentia, qua omnes doctrinæ cœlestis et optimarum artium amantes complectitur, clementer accepturam esse n'ras l'ras, quas huic honesto et docto viro M'gro Wolphgango P..istero Borusso dedimus. Is enim in tantis bellorum tumultibus et Germaniæ perturbationibus, motus celeberrima fama de R. M. V. liberalitate et munificentia erga artium cultores per totam Europam passim sparsa, in inclytas et toto terrarum orbe celebratas R. M. V. academias iturus, spe qualiscunque conditionis vel benefitii obtinendi, a nobis testimonium de suis studiis, moribus et gradu petiit. Vixit autem in academia nostra aliquandiu magna cum laude modestiæ et diligentiæ in omni officio. Cumque linguam Latinam et Græcam, et p'hiæ elementa, et doctrinam a Deo eccl'æ traditam recte didicisset, et mores essent honesti et integri, gradu magisterii apud nos ornatus est.

Præbuit etiam eruditionis specimen in docenda lingua Græca, ac multi se ipsius labore et diligentia adjutos esse testantur. Cum autem reipublicæ expediat, ho'es modestos, et bonis, placidis, et moderatis ingeniis præditos, et eruditione excultos, ornare et provehere ad ea loca ubi servire eccl'æ Dei possint, et hunc M. Wolphgangum non dubitemus eccl'æ Dei et reip. in veræ doctrinæ propagatione olim magno usui et ornamento futurum esse, reverenter eum R. M. V. commendamus, vt R. M. V. ea qua decet regem Christianissimum benevolentia hunc M. Wolfgangum complecti non dedignetur. Deum æternum Patrem Dni. n'ri Ihesu Christi toto pectore precamur, vt Regia' M. V. Eccl'æ suæ et piorum studiorum nutritiam, perpetuo ser-

159 vet incolumem et florentem. Datum ex academia Rostochiensi, anno D'ni 1552, ipso Divi Bartholomei festo.

R. M. V. Obsequentiss.

Rector et Universitas studii Rostochiensi.

Serenissimo potentissimoque Principi, ac D'no, Domino Eduardo Sexto, Angliæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæque Regi, Fidei Defensori, ac in terris Angliæ Hiberniæque Ecclesiæ supremo sub Christo capiti, Domino suo clementissimo.

I.

A catalogue of divers free schools, founded by King Edward VI. within the space of sixteen months, viz.

K. Edw. Warr. Book. A Grammar-school at Bromycham in the county of Warwick: the patent or grant dated December 5; sealed January the 7th, 1551. Here he appointed twenty of the most discreet and substantial men of the lordship of Bromycham over the said school; who should be a fraternity incorporate. And gave them lands and demesnes, to the yearly value of 20*l.* to them and their successors, for the perpetual use of the said King's school: rendring to the King and his successors 20*s.* yearly, at his Court of Augmentations.

A grant made to the bailiffs and burgesses of Shrewsbury, for the erection of a school within the same town; with his gift of certain tiths of corn within the parishes of Ashley, &c. belonging formerly to the college of our Lady in Salop: and tiths in the parish of Frankwel, &c. formerly belonging to the college of S. Tedd: and al the rents reserved upon any lease of the premisses; in as ample maner as any master or prependary [prebendary] of the said colleges lately dissolved, had the same; to the value of 20*l.* 8*s.* with a further licence to receive by gift of any man, or by purchase, to the yearly value of 20*l.* as by mortmain; for the better maintenance of the same school, and master,

usher, and others therunto belonging. The patent bore date February the 10th, 1551.

A patent bearing date March the 13th, 1551, at the request of the L. Dacres, granted to the bailiff and burgesses of Morpeth in Northumberland, for the erecting of a school there; with a licence of mortmain, to purchase 20*l.* by the year for the maintenance thereof.

A patent granted *per billam Dni. Regis* to the inha- 160
bitants of Macclesfield in Cheshire, licenceing them to erect a grammer school there, to be called *King Edward's grammar school.* And fourteen of the most substantial of the same town appointed to be governours of the possessions and goods, to be given to the same school: who shal be a body corporate, and of capacity to purchase lands, either of the King or any other. For the which intent, the King gave to the foresaid governours certain lands in the east part of Cheshire, and certain lands there, called *the prebends lands*, late belonging to the college of John the Baptist, in the city of Chester; and all the chauntry, called *the peny canon*, within the said city; with other land, which be extended to the yearly value of 21*l.* 5*s.* Dated April 25, 1552: from the Kings mannor of East Grenewich.

A patent, dated May the 11th, to the inhabitants of the town of Nonne Eton in Warwickshire, for the erection of a school there; with the gift of certain lands in the city of Coventree, belonging lately to the gilde of the Trinity in the said city, and of Corpus Christi there. Which said land were of the yearly value of 40*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* To them and their successors for ever. To be held in socage; with a licence of mortmain, to purchase 20*l.* by the year.

The erection of a grammar school was granted by the King to the inhabitants of the town of Stourbridge, and parish of Old Swinford, in the county of Worcester: endowing it with lands to the yearly value of 18*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* with a licence to purchase 20*l.* per ann. and to have the issues and profits of the same, from the feast of the Annuntiation last past. To be held of the mannour of East Grenewich in socage.

The erection of a school was granted to the maior and citizens of Bath, with the gift of certain lands, lying in the said city and suburbs of the same. Which be extended to the clear yearly value of 25*l.* to them and their successors, for the rent of 10*l.*

A patent or licence was granted to the maior and burgesses of Bedford, to erect a free grammar school there: and to purchase lands to the value of 40 mark to that use. And that the president of Winchester college shal appoint the schoolmaster and the usher.

A patent, dated Jan. 27, to the maior and towne of Guilforde in the county of Surrey, to erect a grammar school there: whereunto the King gave one annuity of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* lately belonging to the chauntry of Stockaborn in the county of Surrey: and one other yearly rent of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* coming out of two chauntries in Southwel, in the county of Nottingham: to be held to the maior and honest men of Guilford. And by the advice of the Marques of Northampton, keeper of the Kings manour of Guilford, and of the keepers of the same for the time being, to name the schoolmaster and usher of the same school; and, by the advice of the Bishop of Winchester, to make statutes and rules for the said school.

A patent, dated March the 28th, 1553, to the alderman and burgesses of Grantham in the county of Lincoln; for the erection of a grammar school there: with the King's gift
161 of certain lands there, to the value yearly of 14*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.* to have to them and their successors for ever: and to pay to the King and his successors yearly, 16*s.* 8*d.* to be held in free socage and burgage of the same town. And to allow to the schoolmaster, to be well instructed in the Latin and Greek tongues, 12*l.* per ann. And to make all statutes concerning the school, by the advice of Sir Will. Cecyl, kt. secretary to the King, *durante vita:* and after his decease, with the advice of the Bishop of the diocess: and after his decease, by the advice of the master of St. John's college in Cambridge. And to purchase lands to the value of 10*l.* yearly, notwithstanding the statute of mortmain.

A gift of the church of Thorne in the county of York; dated May the 21st. To stand for perpetuity, with all things therein, the ornaments of gold and silver excepted; being a corporation granted to divers persons, by the name of Wardens of the church of Thorne. To purchase 20*l.* by year of the King, or any other person or persons, for the erection of a school.

A free school granted to the inhabitants of Gyggleswick in Craven, in the county of York: whereof John Nowel, clerk, vicar of Gyggleswick, William Cotterel, Henry Tenant, and others, were appointed governours, to make statutes and orders concerning the said school, with the assent of the bishop of the dioces. And the King gave certain lands, to the value of 20*l.* per ann. and also licence to purchase other lands, to the value of 30*l.* per ann. The patent bearing date May the 26th.

K.

The Duke of Northumberland to the Secretary, blaming the carelessness of some courtiers at that time; and giving account of good hopes of the King's recovery.

I HAVE receyved soche lettres as came in your packytt, for the which I hartelie thank you, wishing yt might have byn so, as your helthe wolde have permytted you to have delivered them your selffe. Yt was styll sayde here, that you had but a grudginge of an ague; but now we heare the contrary, and that you have byn thies thre or four fytts grevously handelyd: for which I am right sorye, trusting to God the worst ys past. Whereof I wolde be as gladde as any man, both for your own compforte, as also for the advauncement of the King's waightie affayres. Your companyon doth beare out the burdeyn with as moche payne as any man can do, so moche ys his good wil towardes the service of his master and his countrie, that of a great deale of payne he maketh litle appearance. Others we have, whos sorte you are wel acquaynted withal, that nether ern-

MSS. Cecillian.

est zeale, or consideration of tyme, can skarcely awake theyr
162 out of theyr wonted dreames, and smothelie wynketh all care from theyr harts, how urgent or wayghtie soever our causes ar. Which thinge I can so yvel beare, as indeed of late, but for my duty to the state, my harte colde skarsly endure the mannour of yt, specially in thies mooste careful dayes. Wel, I do herewith too much trouble you, and receyvyth no plessir with so often remembring the forgetfulness (or, I sholde say, the carelesnes) of others.

But now I wil recompfort you with the joyful compfort, which our physicians hath thies two or three mornings revyved my spiritts withal; which ys, that our soveraine Lord doth begin very joyfully to encrese and amende, they havyng no doubt of the thorro recoverye of his Highnes, the rather becaus his Majestie is fully bent to follow theyr counsil and advyce: and thus with my hartie commendations, I wish you perfytt helthe. From Grenewyche this vii of May, 1553.

Your assured loving frende,

To my very loving frend, Northumberland.
Sir Wylliam Cycyll, knight.

L.

Some original letters and declamations in Latin; being learned exercises of King Edward, both before and soon after his access to the crown.

I.

An epistle to King Henry his father; who had sent him a buck.

Regiæ Majestati,

Ex omnibus quæ me oblectabant, cum essem tecum, rex nobilissime, atque pater illustrissime, nihil magis recreavit animum meum, quam quod mihi copiam feceris videndi et observandi Majestatem tuam. Amor enim meus in te conspectu tuo exercitatur: tum quod natura id confirmat; tum quod paterna tua pietas magis ac magis quotidie erga me

augescit. Quamobrem ingentes gratias tibi ago. Et contendo etiam atque etiam ab te, ut te iterum visam, cum tibi libitum fuerit. Quod quo citius fuerit, hoc mihi gratius erit.

Deinde, ingentes tibi gratias ago pro cervo quem ad me misisti. Quod signum est, te etiam mei absentis meminisse. Denique rogo te, ut des mihi benedictionem tuam. Opto tibi multam salutem. Vale, rex nobilissime, atque pater il- 163
lustrissime. Hatfeldiæ, quarto Septembris, an. 1546.

E. Princeps.

II.

Another epistle to King Henry; who had sent the Prince a new-year's-gift.

Regiæ Majestati,

Cum tot et tanta in me contuleris beneficia, rex nobilissime, atque pater pientissime, quæ vix numerare queam, tum hæc strena, quam ad me postremum misisti, videtur mihi non solum præclara, verum etiam paternæ tuæ pietatis erga me plenissima. Ob quam ingentes tibi gratias ago. Et cogito me, quanquam adnitar pro viribus omne tempus vitæ meæ, et laborem in omni genere officiorum, tamen vix magnitudinem beneficiorum tuorum attingere posse. Quare conabor, quod natura et officium postulat, Majestati tuæ placere, atque esse optimi patris bonus filius, ac sequi exemplum virtutis, sapientiæ, et pietatis tuæ. Quam rem spero tibi futuram gratissimam. Atque hoc melius præstabo, si pergas in benevolentia tua erga me: et mihi quotidianam tantam benedictionem impertias. Dom. Jesus te servet incolumem. Hertfordiæ, decimo Januarii, an. 1546.

E. Princeps.

III.

Another epistle of the Prince to the King; upon occasion of a peace after his wars with France.

Nihil ad te literarum dedi hoc longo tempore, rex illustrissime, ac pater nobilissime: non quod fui aliqua ex parte negligens, sed quod ego, considerans Majestatem tuam

perturbari negotiis bellicis, putavi me perturbaturum Majestatem tuam his puerilibus literis meis. Atque ideo veniebat in mentem mihi scrupulus quidam, num scriberem ad te, annon. Sed nunc considerans, quod sicut quivis laboriosus post diuturnum laborem cupit recreare animum; sic spero, cum Majestas tua longo intervallo habuerit negotium, has pueriles literas meas potius recreaturas animum tuum, quam perturbaturas.

Nam quia es amabilis et benignus mihi pater, et spero me futurum obsequentissimum tibi filium; ideo judico benevolentiam tuam boni consulturam literas meas, ex se indignas. Præterea, rogo Majestatem tuam, ut impertias mihi benedictionem tuam: optoque tibi bonum eventum in omnibus negotiis tuis. Vale, pater nobilissime, et rex illustrissime. Hunsdoniæ, secundo Junii, an. 1546.

Edouardus Princeps.

164 IV.

An epistle of the Prince to Queen Katharine: thanks for her new-year's-gift, being the King and Queen's pictures.

Reginæ Catharinæ,

Quod non ad te diu scripserim, regina illustrissima atque mater charissima, in causa fuit, non negligentia, sed studium. Non enim hoc feci, ut nunquam omnino scriberem. Quare spero te futuram contentam, et gavisuram, quod non scripserim. Tu enim velles me proficere in omni honestate et pietate. Quod est signum insignis et diuturni tui amoris erga me.

Atque hunc amorem multis beneficiis mihi declarasti: et præcipue hac strena, quam proxime ad me misisti. In qua regiæ Majestatis et tua effigies ad vivum expressa continetur. Nam plurimum me delectat vestras imagines absentium contemplari. Quas libentissime videre cupio præsentes: ac quibus maxime tum natura tum officio devinctus sum. Quamobrem majores tibi gratias ago ob hanc strenam, quam si misisses ad me preciosas vestes, aut aurum celatum, aut quidvis aliud eximium.

Deus Celsitudinem tuam, quam me brevi visurum spero, servet incolumem. Hartfordiæ, decimo Januarii, 1546.

E. Princeps.

V.

The Prince's epistle to the Archbishop of Canterbury, his godfather, upon a golden cup sent him for a new-year's-gift; with a letter.

Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo,

Duæ res mihi calcar addiderunt, ut ad te literas scribam, susceptor amantissime. Prima, ut tibi gratias agam ob calicem; deinde, ob literas tuas, quas ad me postremum misisti. Poculum tuum perhibet testimonium, te mihi plurimos felicissimos annos optare ac precari. Ex literis autem tuis multum fructus accepi. Quod in illis me hortaris, atque veluti stimulum mihi addis, ad perdiscendas bonas literas, quæ mihi usui futuræ sint, cum ad virilem perveniam ætatem. Literæ vero bonæ, et artes liberales mihi discendæ sunt; quod Aristippus hoc dicere solet: *Disce, puer, quæ tibi viro sunt usui futura.* Atque etiam huic quadrat ille Cicero, eloquentissimus autor, narrans: *Literarum studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, res secundas ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium præbent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris: pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.*

Denique exoratum te volo, ut boni consulas latinitatem meam, ipsa barbarie barbariorem, cum tua eloquentia sit excellentissima. Vale, susceptor amantissime, oculis meis 165
mihi charior: cui multum felicitatis opto. Hartfordiæ, 24° Januarii, an. 1546.

E. Princeps.

VI.

The Prince to his sister, the Lady Mary, who had been sick.

Sorori Mariæ,

Non doleo tantum quod non scripseris ad me hoc longo tempore, soror charissima, quantum gaudebam te recuperasse valetudinem tuam. Nam etsi non scripseris ad me,

scio tamen te non carere benevolentia erga me: valetudo autem tua lætificat me, quia amo te, et ægritudo tua facit me tristem eodem nomine. Gero autem amorem erga te, tum quod sis soror mea, tum quod natura facit me amare te. Quare cura valetudinem tuam; et ne labores, ut scribas ad me, quando ægritudo tua non vult sinere te. Benevolentia enim et amor tuus accipitur in bonam partem, etsi nihil literarum des.

Deus det tibi sapientiam Hester. Saluta quæso Dominam Turwit, Dominam Herbard, et Dom. Lanam. Vale, soror charissima. Hunsdoniæ, vigesimo Maii, an. 1546.

E. Princeps.

VII.

The Prince to his sister, the Lady Elizabeth, upon the departure of her from him.

Sorori Elizabethæ,

Loci quidem mutatio me non tantum angebat, charissima soror, quantum discessus tuus a me. Nunc autem nihil omnino mihi gratius accidere potest, quam tuæ literæ. Ac præcipue quod ad me prior dedisti literas, ac me literas scribere provocasti. Quare ingentes tibi gratias ago, tum ob benevolentiam tuam, tum ob celeritatem. Itaque adnitar pro viribus, te si non superare, saltem æquare benevolentia ac studio. Hunc vero meum dolorem consolatur, quod spero me brevi visurum te, si nullus interim, neque apud me, neque apud te, casus interveniat; ut mihi retulit meus camerarius. Vale, soror charissima. Quinto Decembr. an. 1546.

E. Princeps.

166 VIII.

The Prince to Dr. Cox, his preceptor and almoner, shewing his remembrance and love of him by writing to him; and praying him to thank the secretary for his sand-box sent him.

Richardo Coxo,

Quemadmodum officium meum postulat, scribo ad te literas, eleemosynarie charissime, ut scias me tui memi-

nisse. Si enim non scriberem ad te, esset signum me tui oblivisci. Sed nunc cum scribam ad te est signum me te amare, et tui meminisse. Et quemadmodum qui scribit ad unum, non potest non meminisse illius, quia scribit illius nomen in superscriptione; sic ego, cum scribo ad te, non possum oblivisci tui.

Præterea, hortor te, ut literæ sint æque dulces tibi, ac venatio et aucupium delectant alios. Literæ enim sunt meliores thesauris. Et quicunque tenet literas, tenet magnum thesaurum. Nam dicitur in Paradoxis Ciceronis, *Quod solus sapiens, dives.* Literæ enim sunt divitiæ.

Saluta, quæso, Secretarium Regis, ac illi gratias age pro pixidicula arenaria. Nunc, optime vale, mi eleemosynarie ornatissime ac amantissime. Deus ne sinat pedem tuum averti a justa via. Hartfordiæ, nono Aprilis, anno 1546.

Tui amantissimus discipulus,

E. Princeps.

IX.

The Prince to Dr. Cox, in commendation of diligence and learning; and thanking him for his correcting of an error.

Ex quo Foulerus abiit, eleemosynarie charissime, non misi ad te epistolam, quia cognovi neminem iterum ad te venire ab illo tempore hucusque. Quod autem non exaravi ad te phrases, elegantes sententias, et elegantia verba, hujus rei negligentiam expulsurum spero. Si enim fuero tardus in conatis, formicæ essent meliores me. Formicæ enim laborant; et ego essem negligens. Atque mihi videtur quadrare huic, quod ait Hebræus ille sapiens, *Tarda manus facit pauperem; celeris autem divitem.* Ago tibi gratias etiam, quia narrasti mihi erratum meum. Illi enim sunt amici mei, qui indicant mihi culpam meam.

Deus immortalis, et exhilarator omnium, afficiat te gaudio, et servet te incolumem; et augeat sapientiam tuam; atque det tibi gratiam, ut consequaris voluntatem ejus; ut post hanc vitam vivas cum Christo in æterno regno ejus. Optime valeas, præceptor charissime. Hunsdoniæ, tertio Julii, an. 1546.

E. Princeps.

167

X.

The Prince, now King, to Queen Katharine; upon the death of King Henry, his father.

Reginæ Catharinæ,

Plurimas tibi gratias ago ob epistolam, quam ad me postremum misisti, charissima mater; quæ sane est signum insignis tui ac quotidiani amoris in me. Porro cum visum sit Deo Optimo Maximo, ut meus pater, et tuus conjunx, Rex illustrissimus, hanc vitam finiret, nobis ambobus communis est dolor. Hoc vero nobis consolationem affert, quod jam sit in cœlo; atque quod ex hac vita misera profectus est in felicem et æternam beatitudinem. Quisquis enim hic felicem agit vitam, atque rempublicam recte gubernat, sicut nobilissimus meus pater fecit, qui promovit omnem pietatem, atque expulit omnem ignorantiam, habet certissimum iter in cœlum. Quamvis vero natura jubet dolere, ac lachrymas effundere ob discessum ejus absentis, tamen Scriptura ac prudentia jubet moderari affectos istos, ne videamur nullam omnino spem habere resurrectionis mortuorum, et vita defunctorum.

Præterea, cum tua Celsitudo in me tot beneficia contulit, ego debeo quicquid commodi possum tibi afferre, præstare. Opto tuæ Celsitudini plurimam salutem. Vale, Regina veneranda. E Turri, septimo Februarii, anno 1546.

E. Rex.

XI.

The young King to his sister, the Lady Mary; upon the said sad occasion.

Sorori Mariæ,

Natura, non sapientia, nobis classicum canit ad lamentandum patris nostri charissimi mortem. Natura enim putat se illum amisisse mortuum. At sapientia credit, quod is qui vivit cum Deo, est in æterna felicitate. Quare quum Deus miserit nobis talem sapientiam, non debemus mortem illius lugere, cum ejus voluntas sit, qui omnia in bonum operatur.

Quod ad me autem pertinet, ero tibi charissimus frater, et

omni benevolentia exuberans. Deus Opt. Max. te imbuat suis donis. Vale. E Turri Londoniensi; octavo Feb. anno 1546.

E. Rex.

XII.

Another to his sister, the Lady Elizabeth; upon the said death of the King, their father. 168

Sorori Elizabethæ,

Minime opus est mihi te consolari, charissima soror; quod eruditione tua cognoscis, quod sit faciendum. Prudentia vero, et pietate tua, quod eruditio docuit te cognoscere, facto præstas. Non enim lugendus est pater noster, quamvis nobis charissimus fuerit; quod jam sit in cœlo. Nec mors ejus est deploranda, quæ est via ex hac vita misera ad longe feliciorem. Quare quisque debet adniti pro viribus, ut sapientia vincat naturam, et fortitudo moderetur affectus, et consilium gubernet judicium populi. Quisquis enim hoc facit, is vere Christianus appellatur. Ac siquis dicat, qui huic contrarium facit, Christianum, eum certe falso, atque illi indigno nomine, nuncupat.

Præterea, literæ tuæ mihi admodum arridebant, tum quod in illis elegantes sententiæ continentur, tum quod ex illis sentio te æquo consuluisse animo mortem patris nostri. Porro, si ullo modo possum tibi commodare, libenter præstabo. Optime vale. E Turri; octavo Feb. anno 1546.

E. Rex.

XIII.

A declamation made by King Edward VI. June the 23d, 1549, *being one of his Latin exercises. The theme was,* Virtus. *And the question declaimed upon was,* Whether the act of virtue, or the habit, were more praiseworthy and preferable.

Omnes quidem, et philosophi ethnici et doctores ecclesiastici, concludunt, quod Virtus sit affectus quidam, imitans decora, honesta et laudabilia: vitans vero turpia, seu obscæna, et omnia illa quæ pugnant cum norma rationis.

Hanc ob causam omnes viri docti in hoc mundo nihil præstantius, nihil pulchrius, nihil magis decorum judicaverunt, quam illa *virtus*. Si homo excellat cæteris animantibus, quia est animal, et particeps rationis, tum etiam illa res, quæ ab hac parte hominis procedit, est optima et pulcherrima. Quanquam enim hoc omnes univoce affirmant, *Virtutem esse summum bonum*, aut *magnum bonum;* et doctissimi inter se disceptaverunt, quæ pars virtutis sit alteri præferenda: ut

An actio virtutis, vel habitus, sit laudabilior, et præstantior.

Hoc igitur est thema, de quo jam tractabo. Ego autem in hac quæstione seu controversia has teneo partes, habitum
169 non esse præstantiorem actione. Idque per partes probabo. Sunt autem duo virtutum genera: quorum unum est philosophicum; aliud theologicum. Et quanquam omnes philosophicæ sunt etiam theologicæ, tamen plures in theologia recitantur, quam in philosophia. Philosophicæ enim sunt quatuor, prudentia, justitia, fortitudo, et temperantia. Quid! audetne prudentia se comparare justitiæ? Audetne scientia se comparare fortitudini ac temperantiæ? Audetne cognitio se æquiparare tam pulchro numero virtutum clarissimarum? Recte, recte dictum est a Cicerone illo pulcherrimo philosopho, *Omnis laus virtutis in actione consistit.* Jam autem justitiam esse præstantiorem prudentia, multis modis præstabo.

Quod si enim ea vita contigerit sapienti, ut omnium rerum affluentibus copiis ditetur; quamvis ibi possit rerum ordinem secum considerare et perspicere; tamen si tanta sit solitudo, ut hominem videre non possit, excedet e vita, potius quam hæc patietur. Igitur illæ virtutes, quæ maxime hominum societatem defendunt, sunt optimæ. Justitia autem et fortitudo et temperantia magis colunt hominum societatem, et magis defendunt remp. quam prudentia: quare sunt meliores prudentia. Ita, nisi rerum scientia et cognitio ad se adjuvandum appellet justitiam, solivaga erit cognitio, et jejuna. Quam ob causam concluditur justitiam esse po-

tiorem prudentia; et omne officium, quod ad conjunctionem hominum, et ad societatem tuendam valet, anteponendum est illi officio, quod in rerum omnium scientia, intelligentia et cognitione versatur, aut consistit.

Hanc meam sententiam de justitia et prudentia tenet ille præstantissimus philosophus et orator, M. T. Cicero, et Aristoteles. Cicero autem in primo libro Officiorum, non solum affirmat justitiam esse præstantiorem prudentia, sed etiam non paucas rationes addit. Hoc igitur jam a nobis probatum fuit, actionem virtutis philosophicæ esse meliorem habitu. In sacris vero literis apparet, charitatem esse meliorem fide. Paulus vero ad Corinth. [cap. xiii.] dicit, *Tres sunt virtutes, fides, spes, et charitas: sed optima horum, charitas.* Dicet autem quis, fides justificat. Ergo fides est melior operibus. Nego argumentum. Non enim habet consequentiam. Fides justificat. Ergo melior est charitate. Si enim essent contradictoriæ sententiæ, tum Paulus non affirmasset, et charitatem esse meliorem fide, et fidem justificare. Hæc vero ratio est, quare non sunt contradictoria hæc duo. Prima bona opera quæ facimus, non justificant. Primum vero opus Christiani, ordine naturæ, est effectus. Ergo fides justificat. Sed prima opera non sunt semper optima. Ergo, non necesse sequi, et valere hoc argumentum; fides justificat; ergo, est melior operibus.

Cum igitur in omnibus, et philosophicis et theologicis virtutibus, actio sit melior quam habitus, tum in omni genere virtutis actio est melior quam habitus. Finis enim propositus uniuscujusque rei est melior, quam res spectantes ad illum finem in bonis rebus. Sed finis omnis habitus est actio. Finis enim propositus omnis prudentiæ est, ut justitiam administremus, et pie vitam colamus, atque in societate humanæ totum tempus vitæ, totum honorum et divitiarum cumulum, totas denique opes et facultates impendamus. Ergo illæ virtutes, quæ versantur in actione et societate tuenda, meliores sunt quam quæ in habitu consistunt. Hæc vero ratio a 170
firmis dictis sumitur. Et quomodo confutari possit, adhuc non video. Hoc igitur sequitur, quod actio sit melior habitu. Illæ enim virtutes, quæ administrant, regunt et defendunt

respublicas, multo pulchrius negotium susceperunt, quam illæ quæ solum in rebus perspiciendis versantur.

Sed illæ primæ omnes in actione, aliæ vero in habitu. Ergo, illæ virtutes quæ sunt in actione, sunt meliores iis quæ sunt in habitu.

Objicient fortasse adversarii, quod causa bonæ rei est melior effectu: sed habitum esse causam actionis affirmabunt: eamque ob causam, meliorem actione. Respondeo, me negare consequentiam. Quia major loquitur de causa tota et perfecta. Minor vero de parte causæ. Voluntas enim conjuncta animi habitu est causa actionis, non solus habitus. His ergo rationibus, in hanc sententiam pedibus eo, quod actio virtutis sit melior et laudabilior habitu. Dixi.

XIV.

Another declamation of King Edward, June the 30th, 1549, *upon this question*, Whether the foreknowledge of things be profitable to the life of man.

An præscientia rerum sit utilis.

Omnes philosophi et oratores, quanquam in multis rebus dissentiebant, tamen hoc omnes concluserunt, hominem differre a cæteris animantibus. Quia est particeps rationis. Animum enim cæterorum animalium dicebant solum in se habere affectus rapidos, et expertes rationis ac intelligentiæ: hujus vero animum non solum affectuum rapidorum participem, sed etiam rationis: in qua omnis scientia continetur. Eas vero res quæ consistebant in parte experte rationis, nulla laude dignas putabant. Contra vero eas virtutes et scientias quæ erant in parte participe rationis, omni laude efferendas, judicabant.

Quare cum sit hæc quæstio nobis proposita, Utrum præscientia rerum futurarum sit utilis ad vitam, ego quidem intelligens, quod præscientia sit quædam res consistens in illa parte animi quam vocant participem rationis, videlicet mente, puto et æstimo utilem ad vitam.

Omnia enim honesta et bona utilia sunt. Recte enim dictum est a Cicerone illo sapientissimo philosopho et oratore, quod *omnia utilia sunt honesta*; sed præscientia rerum fu-

turarum non est inhonesta. Quapropter honesta. Ex hac ratione recte et argute spectata licet intelligere, quod præscientia rerum futurarum sit utilis ad vitam. Omnis enim notitia et cognitio rerum est utilis, bona et honesta. Sed rerum præscientia, seu præcognitio est intellectus, notitia aut cognitio. Quare præscientia rerum est utilis.

Videmus quidem in universitate rerum multa futura, quæ nisi præscirentur, omnes male suum tempus in otio et tranquillitate, non in labore consumerent. Si enim servus non præsciret iram sui domini, nisi et sibi commissa servaret, et mandatis pareret, certe nunquam suo domino obediret, et 171
pareret: sed totam vitam suam in otio et stultitia, et illa mala libertate et licentia tereret.

Nos omnes, qui sumus servi Dei, et filii sui Jesu Christi, nisi cognosceremus sibi displicere nostra peccata, in vitiorum cumulo et mole permaneremus. Nunc autem animi ejus iram præsciamus, cum ejus vindictam intelligamus, et ejus minas præcognoscamus, primum veremur, ne si peccaremus, et vitiis potius faveremus, quam virtuti, in hoc mundo nos affligat, prematque molestiis, et ludibrio exponat. Deinde, si malefacianus, perterrefimus hac cogitatione, Deum nos in æternum ignem conjecturum, videlicet, in infernum, locum omnis supplicii et pœnæ; ubi erit gemitus et stridor dentium. Contra vero si beneficiamus, et recte vitam in hoc mundo degamus, tum scimus Deum nos fortunaturum in nostris actionibus, ut fortunavit Abrahamum, Josephum, et Jacobum, qui erant patriarchæ: et omnes illos qui erant in cœtu et ecclesia ejus.

Adhæc, vitam æternam expectamus, et gaudium solatiumque in Deo. Utile quidem est, cognoscere nos morituros in hoc, ut nos præparemus ad mortem. Utile, præscire tempus fluctus et refluctus maris, ut nos paremus ad navigationem. Utile est, præcognoscere tempus seminandi et arandi, ut paremus aratrum et semen. Hæc omnia præscire est utile ad colendam vitam. Si enim præsciremus nihil, ad nihilum nos paratos redderemus. Illa vero quæ subito sine deliberatione et paratione rerum fiant, nunquam, aut paucissimis temporibus, recte fiant.

Quamobrem præscientia rerum est utilis, bona, et honesta. Videmus enim et intelligimus multos, et philosophos, et viros hoc tempore sane eruditos censere, quod placatio animi sit felicitas, seu summum bonum. Quicquid adjuvat ad placationem animi est bonum, honestum et utile. Quid vero potest esse dulcius, quid placatius, quid suavius, quod admoveatur animo, quam præscientia rerum futurarum? Ergo, est utilis ad vitam humanam. Humana enim mens oblita quærit, et inventa semper mandat memoriæ. Nunquam desinet laborare, nunquam otiatur, nunquam quietem patitur. Semper agit, semper laborat, semper cogitat; et invenit abdita et secreta. Cum enim corpus dormit et quietem habet, animus cogitat et invenit, quomodo res sint peragendæ. Hinc illa perpetuitas animi recte cerni potest. Quicquid ergo ad hunc animum placandum pertinet, (non sentio partem expertem rationis, sed partem participem,) illud utile est ad vitam.

Cum autem jam ego legerim *dialecticam*, in ea cerno, quod in naturalibus causis, semper bonam sequuntur boni effectus. Causæ vero naturales præscientiæ, videlicet, mens, et voluntas ei consentiens, sunt bonæ. Ergo ipsa præscientia est bona, et utilis ad vitam.

Adhæc, legimus in sacris literis utile fuisse multis, quod præsciverant Christum venturum. Ergo, aliqua præscientia est utilis.

Præterea, nos duabus in rebus excellimus cæteris animantibus, præscientia, et rerum aliquarum ratione. Deus nobis in duabus rebus excellit, præscientia rerum omnium, et patientia. His ergo rationibus persuasus, teneo has partes, quod *præscientia rerum sit utilis ad vitam.* Dixi.

519

TITLES

OF

THE ORIGINAL PAPERS

AS THEY STAND IN

THE REPOSITORY;

Being divers letters and other choice monuments, exemplified from authentic MSS. relating to the Memorials Historical in the reign of King Edward VI.

A. THE ceremonies and funeral solemnities paid to the corpse of King Henry VIII. Chap. ii.

B. The Lord Protector's prayer for God's assistance in the high office of Protector and Governor, now committed to him.

C. The Lord Protector, to the justices of peace in the county of Norfolk; when a new commission of the peace was sent them.

D. Common places of state: drawn up by Will. Thomas, esq. clerk of the Council. For King Edward's use. Under six heads. Chap. iii.

E. The names of the Knights of the Bath made by King Edw. VI. Feb. 20, Shrove Sunday, being the day of his coronation. And of the Knights of the Carpet dubbed by him, during the time of that solemnization.

F. A ballad sung to King Edward in Cheapside, as he passed through London to his coronation.

G. Queen Katharine Par in Latin, to the Lady Mary; concerning her translation of Erasmus's Paraphrase upon St. John's Gospel. Chap. v.

H. Queen Katharine Par to King Henry; gone in his expedition against France.

I. A Poem, pretended to be writ against the preachers; entitled, *A Poor Help*. Chap. vii.

K. Queen Katharine Par to the University of Cambridge; which had addressed to her, to intercede to the King for them, Chap. viii.

upon an act, whereby the Parliament had given him all colleges, chantries, and free chapels.

L. Queen Katharine to the Lady Wriothesly; comforting her for the loss of her only son.

Chap. xi. M. A proclamation concerning the irreverent talkers of the sacrament. Dated the 27th day of December, *anno regni Reg. Edward. primo.*

N. A proclamation for the abstaining from flesh in the Lent time. Dated the 16th day of January, *anno Reg. primo.*

O. A proclamation against such as innovate any ceremony, or preach without licence. Dated the 6th of February, *anno Reg. primo.*

Chap. xii. P. The King's commission for redress of enclosures.

Q. The charge of Mr. John Hales, one of the commissioners, at their assembly for the execution of the commission for redress of enclosures.

Chap. xiii. R. A discourse made by William Thomas, esq. for the King's use; *viz.* whether it be expedient to vary with the time.

S. A second discourse made by the same person, for the King's use; whether it be better for a commonwealth, that the power be in the nobility or in the commonalty.

T. A third political discourse made by William Thomas, for the King's study; entitled, *What princes amity is best.*

V. Mr. Thomas's fourth discourse to the King; touching his Majesty's outward affairs.

W. William Thomas, esq. to the King; touching the reformation of the coin.

X. William Thomas, esq. to the King; apologizing for some passages in his discourse concerning the coin, and in his other discourses, writ by the King's commandment.

Chap. xiv. Y. Sir Philip Hoby, the King's ambassador at the Emperor's Court, to the Duke of Somerset, concerning the *interim.* From Augsburgh.

Chap. xv. Z. The confession of Sir William Sharington, concerning his frauds in coining the King's money.

Chap. xvi. ZZ. A pious prayer of Queen Katharine Par; by her composed in short ejaculations suited to her condition.

ZZZ. An account of the King's sales of chantries, colleges, &c. in the second year of his reign.

Chap. xvii. AA. Archbishop Cranmer's Treatise of Unwritten Verities.

BB. Sir William Paget, ambassador with the Emperor, his letter to the Lord Protector. Chap. xix.

CC. The Protector's and Council's answer to Paget's letters.

DD. The Lord Privy Seal to the Council, concerning the defeat of the rebels in the west. Chap. xxi.

EE. The Duke of Somerset, lord protector, to Sir Philip Hoby, ambassador with the Emperor, imparting intelligence of the insurrections.

FF. The Duke of Somerset to Sir Philip Hoby, concerning the suppression of the insurrections in the west, and in Norfolk.

GG. Sir William Paget to the Lord Protector, upon his rough usage of some gentlemen. Writ May the 8th, 1549. Chap. xxii.

HH. Sir William Paget, now ambassador abroad, to the Lord Protector, upon the breaking out of the rebellion in the west: the letter bearing date July the 7th, 1549.

II. A letter sent from the Lord Paget concerning Bulloign, to the Earl of Warwick, then lord great master, the 22d of Feb. 1549. Chap. xxiii.

KK. The prayer used at a public fast, for a great dearth. Chap. xxvii.

LL. Bucer to A Lasco, concerning the controversy about wearing the habits. Chap. xxviii.

MM. Hoper to Martin Bucer, for his judgment concerning wearing the habits.

NN. Martin Bucer to John Hoper, in answer to the foregoing letter.

OO. Crowley's epigrams concerning abuses. Chap. xxxii.

PP. The form of the commission by the King to his Council, in his minority. Chap. xxxiii.

QQ. Certain orders set forth by the justices of Cornwal, for the accomplishment of the King's commandment, by his Highness's letter to them directed, for the speedy reformation of the unreasonable prices of victuals in markets, and for the punishment of the causers of the same.

BOOK II.

A. Scory, bishop of Rochester, unto the King's most excellent Majesty: putting him in mind of certain matters he made to him in his sermon preached before him last Lent. Chap. iv.

Chap. v. B. Polydore Vergil to Secretary Cecil, for his warrant to receive the King's gift.

Chap. x. C. Thomas Gresham to the Duke of Northumberland, from Antwerp; concerning the King's debts.

Chap. xv. D. Dr. Cox to Bullinger; concerning the review of the book of Prayers and Sacraments.

Chap. xvii. E. Thomas Barnabe, a merchant, to Sir William Cecil, secretary of state. Upon his great and long experience, he propounds to him certain ways to distress the French.

F. Beaumont, master of the rolls, his acknowledgment of his debts to the King; with his submission, and surrender of his place.

G. The Duke of Northumberland, the Earls of Huntington and Pembroke, and Secretary Cecil, to the Privy Council; concerning the lands of Paget and Beaumont forfeited.

H. The University of Rostoch to King Edward; recommending to him one Perister, a godly and learned man of that University.

I. A catalogue of divers free schools, founded by King Edward VI. within the space of sixteen months.

Chap. xxii. K. The Duke of Northumberland to the Secretary, blaming the carelessness of some of the Court at that time; and giving good hopes of the King's recovery: written May the 7th.

L. Original letters and declamations in Latin; being learned exercises of this Prince, anno 1546, both before and after his access to the crown.

2735